THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

Norwegian Clothing and Textiles in Valhalla Centre, Alberta: A Case Study and Inventory in an Ecomuseum Framework

by

Heather Diane Prince

©

A THESIS
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH
IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE
OF Master of Science
IN
CLOTHING AND TEXTILES

FACULTY OF HOME ECONOMICS

EDMONTON, ALBERTA
Fall, 1988

Permission has been granted to the National Library of Canada to microfilm this thesis and to lend or sell copies of the film.

The author (copyright owner) has reserved other publication rights, and neither the thesis nor extensive extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without his/her written permission.

L'autorisation a été accordée à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de microfilmer cette thèse et de prêter ou de vendre des exemplaires du film.

L'auteur (titulaire du droit d'auteur) se réserve les autres droits de publication; ni la thèse ni de longs extraits de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation écrite.

ISBN 0-315-45627-2

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

RELEASE FORM

NAME OF AUTHOR Heather Diane Prince

TITLE OF THESIS Norwegian Clothing and Textiles in Valhalla Centre, Alberta: A Case Study and Inventory in an Ecomuseum Framework

DEGREE FOR WHICH THESIS WAS PRESENTED Master of Science

YEAR THIS DEGREE GRANTED Fall, 1988

Permission is hereby granted to THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA LIBRARY to reproduce single copies of this thesis and to lend or sell such copies for private, scholarly or scientific research purposes only.

The author reserves other publication rights, and neither the thesis nor extensive extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's written permission.

(SIGNED) Heather Prince

PERMANENT ADDRESS:

1114 10TH AVE EAST
PRINCE RUPERT, B.C. CAN
V8J 2T9

DATED SEPT. 2 1988

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled Norwegian Clothing and Textiles in Valhalla Centre, Alberta: A Case Study and Inventory in an Ecomuseum Framework submitted by Heather Diane Prince in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Science in CLOTHING AND TEXTILES.

Anne M Lambert
Anne Lambert
Supervisor

N. Fetterman
Nelma Fetterman

R R Heron
Peter Heron

Date Sept. 2, 1988

34 Bloomsbury Way London WC1A 2SF 01-404 4767

27 July 1988

Heather Prince
Graduate Student
Faculty of Home Economics
125 Home Economics Building
University of Alberta
Edmonton
Canada
T6G 2M8

Dear Heather Prince

Thank you for your letter requesting permission to use material from an issue of the Museums Journal in your unpublished masters thesis.

I have spoken to Dr Susan Pearce and am happy to tell you that neither she nor the Museums Association objects to you including Figure I from 'Thinking about Things' by Susan Pearce in Volume 86 Issue 4 Page 199 of the Museums Journal.

May I take this opportunity of wishing you every success with your thesis.

Yours sincerely

M Duncan

pp ANITA MORRIS
HEAD OF PROFESSIONAL SERVICES

Patron: Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth the Queen Mother
President: Ian G Robertson MA FMA
Director General: Graeme Farnell MA AMA MBIM

Registered in England with limited liability by guarantee under no. 25231
Charity registration no. 30024

University of Alberta
Edmonton

Faculty of Home Economics
Heather Prince, Graduate Student

Canada T6G 2M8
125 Home Economics Building, Telephone (403) 432-3824

JUL 0 7 1988

June 27, 1988

University of Chicago Press
5801 S. Ellis Avenue
Chicago, Illinois
60637

RE: Copyright permission from Winterthur Portfolio

Dear Business Correspondent,
I am writing to obtain permission to reproduce material from the 1974 and 1983 issues of the Winterthur Portfolio in my unpublished master's thesis. I would like to use Figure 1. from "Artifact Study, A Proposed Model" by E. McClung Fleming (Vol. 9, p. 154, and a figure made from the Methodology section of "Mind in Matter" by Jules David Prown (Vol. 17, pp.7-10). The second mentioned has copyright code (1982) 0084-0416/82/1701-0001$02.00. I will be using both of these figures in the Literature Review of my thesis, and would appreciate a letter of consent from you which I could give to the Graduate Studies Department when I hand in my thesis.

Thank you very much. I look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

Heather Prince

Heather Prince, Graduate Student

7/12/88
PERMISSION GRANTED FOR USE DESCRIBED.
THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS
RIGHTS AND PERMISSION

Joanna Barry
Permissions Editor

[redacted]

Canadian Museum of Civilization · Musée canadien des civilisations

July 11, 1988

Ms. Heather Prince
Graduate Student
University of Alberta
Faculty of Home Economics
125 Home Economics Building
Edmonton, Alberta
T6G 2M8

Dear Ms. Prince:

The copyright of an article usually belongs to the author(s) of the article. In this particular case, if you just want to use a paragraph or a table, you do not need a formal permission but, like any other kind of borrowing, you have to give the exact reference.

Sincerely,

Jean-Pierre Hardy
Project Development Officer
Publishing Division

Destination 88

Ottawa, Canada
K1A 0M8

National Museums of Canada
Musées nationaux du Canada

Canada

Dedication

My work in this thesis is dedicated to all those who inspired me and encouraged me along the path of research. I dedicate it lovingly to my grandparents, John and Lilly Pedersen, who live in Prince Rupert, B.C. They have shared their Norwegian heritage with me, both in their appreciation for the Norwegian language and customs, and in their attitude of respect for their heritage and for life itself.

The thesis is also dedicated to the inhabitants of Valhalla Centre, Alberta, whom I have spent two months getting to know and love. To all of them I extend love and best wishes for success as they develop an increasing awareness of their rich cultural heritage.

I dedicate the research and its findings to all the museums of Alberta, and to the Alberta Museums Association, in hopes that it may help them to interpret the clothing and textile artifacts within their collections and to better understand and communicate the significance of the rich heritages brought to Alberta and Canada from other countries. Finally, I give this work to all those individuals of Norwegian descent living in Alberta, in Canada and in the United States who want to preserve their cultural heritage and see it flourish, correctly interpreted so that the society at large may appreciate its irreplaceable value.

Abstract

Information from oral histories, written and visual documentary sources, and surviving artifacts was compiled and examined to establish the nature of the Norwegian ethnic clothing and textiles produced and/or used in Valhalla Centre, Alberta. Twenty-three oral history subjects were obtained from the sample population. Subjects were of Norwegian background, over 18 years of age and willing to participate in the research. Demographic information and information describing the production and use of clothing and textile artifacts were obtained. Norwegian settlers arrived from Norway, the United States and from other parts of Canada during three time periods, bringing various clothing, textile and textile-related artifacts. Sweaters, mittens and a variety of household textiles were later acquired from Norway. In the first years of settlement, the settlers mainly produced non-Norwegian clothing and textiles. Few Norwegian ethnic clothing and textile artifacts were produced before embroidery and knitting kits were acquired in Norway. Written (4) and visual (31) documentary sources were located through individuals in Valhalla Centre, the Valhalla Centre Lutheran Church, and the Provincial Archives of Alberta. This material contained descriptive and historical information about clothing and textile artifacts of Valhalla Centre, Alberta. Surviving clothing and textile artifacts brought from Norway to Valhalla Centre were located through individuals and inventoried.

Information from all sources was numerically coded and recorded onto a master data file. Computer analyzed data provided frequency tables and cross-tabulations, while manually analyzed data provided qualitative information. Clothing and textile artifacts were found in each of four categories: (a) everyday clothing and utility textiles not preserved; (b) spinning wheels, fragile heirlooms and tarnished jewellery preserved but not used; (c) seasonal household textiles, special sweaters, mittens and folk costumes occasionally used; and (d) casual sweaters, mittens and gloves, and decorative household textiles currently in normal use.

Valhalla Centre settlement was similar to general Norwegian immigration in North America, but with some apparent differences attributed to later settlement, northern environment and unique community history. The community's selected material culture profile was positively assessed for potential application of the éco-musée concept. Evaluation of sources of information and retrieval methods used indicated that sources within the community yielded more information than public repositories and that individual methods were not as effective as methods used in combination.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank the following organizations and individuals for their support in these research endeavors. They together have made the research worthwhile and rewarding.

The Boreal Institute for Northern Studies at the University of Alberta offered financial support for the research in Valhalla Centre through the Grant-in-Aid Program and were constantly accessible for help. Their faith in the research was appreciated. Barbara Schweger, Research Associate for the Boreal Institute, was especially helpful in her knowledge of the subject and the operations of the Institute.

The Alberta Museums Association provided funding through grants for preliminary research in Alberta and in the United States. Their Special Projects Grant for an Individual Training Project took me to Vesterheim, the Norwegian-American Museum in Decorah, Iowa. I would like to thank the Norwegian-American Museum Director, Marion Nelson, and his wife Lila, the Textile Curator, for making me feel welcome and at home. They and their staff were always available to help search for needed information, making my stay in Decorah enriching and worthwhile. The Nelsons also took me to St. Paul, Minnesota, where I was able to visit the Textile Collection at the University of Minnesota. Thanks to Tim Blade who hosted me there and let me loose with their costumes and photographs.

The Faculty of Home Economics supplied a Research Assistantship for the duration of my studies. The Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, University of Alberta, provided the travel fare to Decorah, Iowa, and also gave helpful suggestions and guidelines in the finishing stages of the thesis. As well, the University of Alberta awarded a Graduate Scholarship for the year during which the thesis was written.

The Provincial Museum of Alberta gave me access to their collection of Norwegian clothing and textiles from Alberta which helped in the identification of similar artifacts in my own research. David Goa and Cathy Barnes of the Ethnology Department willingly gave me their aid in this perusal. Numerous other museums in Alberta helped in the identification of Norwegian textiles, including the Grande Prairie Pioneer Museum in Grande Prairie, the South Peace Centennial Museum in Beaverlodge and the Severson homestead museum in Tofield, Alberta.

There are many individuals I would like to acknowledge for their support and encouragement. Firstly, and most endearingly, I would like to thank my supervisor, Anne Lambert, Professor of Clothing and Textiles, Faculty of Home Economics, University of Alberta, who saw me through this long haul and who offered support and discipline even under her own demanding circumstances. Secondly, I would like to thank Dr. Nelma Fetterman, Professor, Faculty of Home Economics, University of Alberta, and Dr. Peter Heron, Professor, Department of Recreation and Leisure Studies, University of Alberta, for their thoughtful input and patience. Dr. Fetterman's statistical and editorial skills aided the smooth completion of the thesis, and Dr. Heron's deep understanding of the éco-musée concept helped when I felt that I would drown in its enormity.

I would like to thank Janice Smith, Clothing and Textiles Technician at the University of Alberta and the 'help next door' who always had what I needed, be it information, addresses, materials, a listening ear, or tea. In the same way, I thank my fellow graduate students who stood with me and got through the sunny days and the temptation to go out of doors. It was truly a community effort, and I received strength and joy from them all. They were patient and even put up with antics and distractions of my instigation, as well as adding a few of their own. But it was fun and worth it! Right, Michael? Edith? We made it through together, didn't we, Sharon? Leslee? Becky? *Det var en gang tre bukker som skulle over til seters og gjøre seg riktig fete*. Thanks for the laughs, hugs and support.

Thanks go to Sharon Hammick, Bennett Matthews and Diane Blenkarn for their time and energy spent proofreading my manuscript, providing editorial comments and valuable suggestions. Thanks for giving my work some objectivity.

I want also to acknowledge my family and loved ones, the key person of whom is Lawrence, who believe in me and my work, who respect my need to do this, and who have supported me all the way along. Thanks especially to my parents, Jack and Astrid Prince, my grandparents, John and Lilly Pedersen and my sisters, Linda, Karin, Jacqueline, Joanne and Sonja for their love and encouragement. Thanks also to my extended family in Prince Rupert and elsewhere. You are all an inspiration to me. Thank you for your prayers.

I thank all of my friends who supported me and who took me under their wing when I was feeling rejected by the computer. I owe much to those who took the time to share my hours of frustration, who saw me change from chapter to chapter, who put up with my sporadic moods and provided me with love through it all. To my special friends at Mount Zion Lutheran Church and in the University of Alberta Mixed Chorus, to my roommates and to my Bible School buddies - thanks and love to you all.

Finally, and not least, I acknowledge all of the support, encouragement, help and excitement of the people in the community of Valhalla Centre, Alberta. Thanks to Reverend Laverne and Marilyn Hoveland and their son Mark for making my stay so enjoyable and for making me so welcome in their home. Thank you for your help in retrieving information and in making contact with individuals in Valhalla Centre.

There were countless others who helped along the way, including Linda Turner and her assistance with photography, Inge Wilson and the creation of the map of the research area, Computing Services and the Population Research Laboratory and their help with computer problems and statistical analysis, Alberta Government Telephones for their help in determining the sample population for the research, and many others. Any omissions are not deliberate and I apologize if I

have forgotten anyone. Also, any errors with the research are solely my own responsibility.

Table of Contents

Chapter Page

1. Introduction 1
    1.1 Purpose of the Study 2
    1.2 Research Objectives 2
    1.3 Justification 3
    1.4 Definitions 5
    1.5 Limitations and Delimitations 8
        1.5.1 Limitations 8
        1.5.2 Delimitations 9
2. Literature Review 10
    2.1 Modern Attitudes Toward the Past: Museology and Ecomuseums 11
        2.1.1 Modern Attitudes Toward the Past: Museology 11
        2.1.2 Ecomuseums 16
    2.2 Material Culture 23
    2.3 Ethnicity 32
    2.4 Norwegian Immigration 37
        2.4.1 General Characteristics 37
        2.4.2 Possessions of the Immigrants 44
    2.5 Valhalla Centre 47
    2.6 Norwegian Clothing and Textiles 50
        2.6.1 Weaving 51
        2.6.2 Embroidery 56
        2.6.3 Knitting 58
        2.6.4 Costumes 59
3. Methodology 63
    3.1 Oral Histories 63
        3.1.1 Pilot Study 63

3.1.2 Sample Selection and Interviewing Procedure 64

3.2 Documentation of Written and Visual Documentary Material 66

3.3 Artifact Documentation 66

3.3.1 Procedure Development 67

3.4 Coding and Recording of Data 67

3.5 Analysis of Data 68

4. Findings and Discussion 70

4.1 Objective One 71

4.2 Objective Two 84

4.3 Objective Three 86

4.4 Objective Four 106

4.5 Objective Five 109

4.5.1 Artifacts no longer in existence 109

4.5.2 Artifacts preserved but not used 109

4.5.3 Artifacts preserved and occasionally used 111

4.5.4 Artifacts currently in normal use 112

4.6 Objective Six 113

4.7 Objective Seven 131

4.7.1 Selected material culture profile 131

4.7.2 Current perspectives on ecomuseums 132

4.7.3 Current practices in ecomuseums 137

4.7.4 Potential of Valhalla Centre for application of the éco-musée concept 142

4.8 Objective Eight 151

4.9 Objective Nine 154

4.10 General Discussion Points: Trends in the Literature 155

5. Summary, Conclusions and Recommendations 162

5.1 Summary and Conclusions 162

5.2 Recommendations 165
6. Bibliography 178
7. Appendices 185
8. Curriculum Vita 228

List of Tables

Table..........Page

Table 4.1 References to Clothing Artifacts in Oral Histories 72
Table 4.2 References to Household Textiles in Oral Histories 77
Table 4.3 Distribution of Major Artifact Categories in Artifact Inventory 90
Table 4.4 Specific Norwegian Ethnic Clothing and Textiles in Artifact Inventory 92-93
Table 4.5 Norwegian Labels or Inscriptions on Artifacts in Artifact Inventory........99
Table 4.6 Producers of Norwegian Clothing and Textile Artifacts in Artifact Inventory 101
Table 4.7 Materials Used to Produce Artifacts in Artifact Inventory 102
Table 4.8 Techniques Used to Produce Artifacts in Artifact Inventory 103
Table 4.9 Primary and Secondary Norwegian Features of Artifacts in Artifact Inventory 104

List of Figures

Figure ....Page

Figure 2.1 Diagram of a Model for Artifacts Studies (after Fleming, 1974, p. 154) 27

Figure 2.2 Methodology for Material Culture Study (after Prown, 1982, p. 7) 27

Figure 2.3 Analysis Method for Artifacts (as developed by graduate seminar students, Towards a Material History Methodology, 1985, p. 35) 29

Figure 2.4 Proposed Model for Artifact Studies (Pearce, 1986c, p. 200)..............31

Figure 4.1 Norwegian Clothing and Textiles in Valhalla Centre, Alberta: Major Artifact Categories...88

Figure 4.2 Norwegian Clothing and Textiles in Valhalla Centre, Alberta: Clothing Categories in Inventory 89

Figure 4.3 Norwegian Clothing and Textiles in Valhalla Centre, Alberta: Household Accessories in Inventory 94

Figure 4.4 Norwegian Clothing and Textiles in Valhalla Centre, Alberta: Art Objects in Inventory 96

Figure 4.5 Arrival of Participants in Valhalla Centre, Alberta, from 1910 to 1960 156

1. Introduction

The éco-musée concept is becoming widely known and accepted throughout the world (deVarine, 1985; Konaré, 1985; Rivière, 1985). It is being used as an exciting alternative lifestyle for a community or location, and also as an alternative to common tourism strategies and traditional economic development procedures. The éco-musée concept is being applied in a wide variety of situations, each situation specific to its environment. Researchers are finding that locations and communities with unique historical or cultural circumstances are ideal for the application of these concepts in the fabrication of ecomuseums (Dalibard, 1984; Rivière, 1985). The ecomuseum's instigators, who are a part of the new museology and are interested in culture and heritage in general, are promoting the preservation and use of both past and present artifacts of material culture as part of this phenomenon.

The material culture of a community is an important link to its cultural life; the objects that are produced and used in the community can identify the value and belief structures of its residents (Lowenthal, 1985). Lowenthal observes that society has always dealt with the past in one way or another. He stresses that in recent years the study of the past and the treatment of it has increased in popularity. Many people are concerned with their own and others' history and cultural background (Lowenthal).

Clothing and textile artifacts of individuals and communities are involved in material culture research (Bronner, 1985; Pearce, 1986c). These artifacts are particularly significant because they are the major visibly identifiable features of the person's near environment, and represent the internal values and beliefs held by that person.

The goals of material culture research and the éco-musée concept coincide with the goals of research in home economics. Schlater states that "...the ultimate goal of research in home economics is to maximize the satisfaction and well-being of individuals and families through increasing knowledge of man and his immediate environment - his physical, cultural and social milieu." (1971, p. 15) A sub-goal of this is "...to improve the physical components of man's near environment..." (Schlater, 1971, p. 15), and, as part of this, to conduct research to determine (a) the cultural, historical and geographic factors affecting clothing modes, and (b) the factors affecting stability and change in modes of dress (Schlater).

This specific case study of the Norwegian clothing and textile artifacts used in Valhalla Centre, Alberta, describes and inventories these artifacts. Both the descriptive information collected and the artifact inventory produced in Valhalla Centre can be used later for reference and for assessing the potential for application of the éco-musée concept in the community.

1.1 Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to, through the fulfilment of objectives based on the following three problem statements, examine and analyze the Norwegian ethnic clothing and textiles in Valhalla Centre, Alberta. Based on oral histories, written and visual documentary sources and surviving artifacts, what evidence of Norwegian ethnic clothing and textile artifacts is retained in the Valhalla Centre community? From this evidence, which Norwegian ethnic clothing and textile artifacts are (a) no longer in existence, (b) preserved but not used, (c) preserved and occasionally used, and (d) currently in normal use? How does this community's selected material culture profile compare with current perspectives on and practices in ecomuseums?

1.2 Research Objectives

The objectives for this research are as follows:

1. To gather oral histories from the community of Valhalla Centre, Alberta.
2. To gather written and visual documentary sources relating to Norwegian ethnic

clothing and textile artifacts from the community of Valhalla Centre, Alberta.

3. To create an inventory of Norwegian ethnic clothing and textile artifacts from the community of Valhalla Centre, Alberta.
4. To identify any current production of Norwegian ethnic clothing and textile artifacts in Valhalla Centre, Alberta.
5. To identify those artifacts (a) no longer in existence, (b) preserved but not used, (c) preserved and occasionally used, and (d) currently in normal use in Valhalla Centre, Alberta.
6. To discuss the findings of the research in view of the general Norwegian immigration process.
7. To discuss the findings of the research to determine how this community's selected material culture profile compares with current perspectives on and practices in ecomuseums and to assess the potential for the application of éco-musée concepts within the community of Valhalla Centre, Alberta.
8. To discuss the sources of information and the methods used to retrieve them to determine their effectiveness alone and in conjunction with one another.
9. To present the findings of the research to the community of Valhalla Centre, Alberta.

1.3 Justification

The justification for this research is found in a variety of areas. The research is relevant to the studies of material culture, ethnicity, immigration, history, anthropology, museology and home economics. It is also connected to the development of systematic methodologies in research.

An increased interest in the ethnic groups of Canada has brought about the necessity for general as well as specific research of these groups and their cultural identities. The multicultural nature of the country is such that each ethnic group makes an important contribution to the whole. The Norwegians are one of these important groups. Palmer and Palmer (1985) state that Norwegians, among others, have had a visible impact on the patterns of everyday life in Alberta. They have been one of the major pioneer groups in Alberta, and have been a strong force in developing the province.

Information in this study may be useful to others doing research in the area of immigration into Canada. Issues such as the changes and adaptations in immigrants' lives need to be addressed. The social, cultural and physical environments in Canada have an impact on people entering Canadian society; it is helpful to these and future immigrants to study this impact to ensure that their experience here is as enriching as possible.

Museums are also recognizing the importance of the various ethnic groups involved in Canada's mosaic of people, and are working toward giving increased representation to non-mainstream groups. Some museums and historic sites already devote space and effort to a variety of ethnic groups, while other museums and historic sites focus on one specific group significant to their area.

The recent development of the éco-musée concept and the emergence of ecomuseums on a world scale has instigated adaptations and applications of specific aspects of the concept in Canada. Research is needed in a variety of situations across the country in order to adapt aspects of the éco-musée concept for effective use in Canada. Through research, specific data can be collected and assessed for the potential application of the éco-musée concept in a variety of locations. Ecomuseum planners in Canada can therefore be better informed and can make knowledgeable decisions in the development of ecomuseums in the country.

Continuing research in home economics is also necessary, specifically in the area of the near environment of individuals and families and how this near environment influences and is influenced by the cultural and physical environment. Schlater (1971) says that home economics research should maximize the satisfaction and well-being of individuals and families. It should be specifically aimed at the cultural, historical and geographical factors affecting the clothing of these individuals (Schlater). In the research conducted in Valhalla Centre, all three of these factors are addressed.

Research, in itself, is constantly changing. There is always need for improvement in the methods and systems used to collect and analyze data. In order to keep up with changing systems and technologies, new methods and adaptations must be developed and tested. This is true in the area of material culture research, and specifically that of clothing and textiles research. Conducting research using systematic procedures, and evaluating these procedures, adds to the body of knowledge in this area and helps future researchers to be more efficient and effective.

The research in Valhalla Centre compiles information on one specific aspect of the community's material culture, that of the clothing and textiles. Subsequent researchers are therefore enabled to approach and study the complex cultural identity of Norwegians in this community from this perspective. Researchers will also be able to use this information to identify the effects of new cultural and physical environments on immigrants. Ultimately, this initial research will allow further study of the community of Valhalla Centre and its assessment as a potential ecomuseum employing specific aspects of the éco-musée concept.

1.4 Definitions

The definitions of English terms used throughout the research in Valhalla Centre are given below. Classification of clothing and textiles into categories according to Chenhall (1978) is found in Appendix A. Descriptions of specific artifacts are found in Appendix B. Translations and descriptions of Norwegian clothing and textile terms are found in Appendix C. For the purposes of this research, the following definitions are used:

Acculturation	"those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into first hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of [one or] both groups." (Seymour-Smith, 1986)
Artifact	"tangible things crafted, shaped, altered, and used across time and across space...human-made objects in social settings." (Bronner, 1985, p. 3)
Assimilation	"one of the outcomes of the acculturation process, in which the subordinate or smaller group is absorbed into the larger or dominant one and becomes indistinguishable from it in cultural terms." (Seymour-Smith, 1986)
Culture	"that complex whole which includes artifacts, beliefs, art, all the other habits acquired by human beings as members of society, and all the products of human activity as determined by these habits." (Kroeber and Kluckhohn, 1963)
Custom	"cultural traditions or habitual forms of behavior within a given social group." (Seymour-Smith, 1986)
Éco-musée Concept	the concept which through application produces the ecomuseum in its unique form. (see Ecomuseum) NOTE: This term is dealt with in depth in the review of the literature.
Ecomuseum	a defined community where the past and present are integrated, where the inhabitants live and work amidst the historical artifact and the modern tool; the outcome of the application of the éco-musée concept. (see Éco-musée Concept) NOTE: There are many definitions of the ecomuseum and they are still changing. The term is dealt with in depth in the review of the literature.
Emigration	"the departure from one's place of abode or country for life or residence elsewhere." (Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary) (see Immigration)
Ethnic	of or relating to a certain ethnic group. (see Ethnic Group, Ethnicity)
Ethnic Group	"any group of people who set themselves apart and are set apart from other groups with whom they interact or coexist in terms of some distinctive criterion or criteria which may be linguistic, racial or cultural." (Seymour-Smith, 1986) (see Ethnic, Ethnicity)
Ethnicity	"cultural persistence and change, the maintenance and crossing of all established boundaries, and the construction of boundaries that both separate and bind people in a myriad of ways." (Seymour-Smith, 1986)(see Ethnic, Ethnic Group)

Folk Costume	the revived Norwegian costume comprised of a combination of articles (headgear, upper and lower garments, footwear and accessories) of men's and women's clothing (see *Bunad* in Appendix C).
Folklore	"all the lore (myths, fairytales, superstitions, riddles, and games) of a culture; generally orally transmitted, but may be written." (Ember and Ember, 1981)
Heritage	a person's possessions, concrete or abstract, resulting from one's natural situation or birth.
Immigration	"the coming into a country of which one is not a native for permanent residence." (Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary) (see Emigration)
Material Culture	"the totality of artifacts in a culture, the vast universe of objects used by humankind to cope with the physical world, to facilitate social intercourse, to delight the fancy, and to create symbols of meaning." (Schlereth, 1982, in Condon, 1983, p. 138)
Norm	"the ideal cultural pattern that represents what most members of a society say they ought to do or feel in a particular situation." (Ember and Ember, 1981)
Norwegian Ethnic Clothing and Textile Artifacts	any woven or non-woven textile article worn or used in the home which are visibly Norwegian in their technique, patterns, colors and/or design. These elements, taken alone, are indistinguishable from others throughout the world. It is in the way they are combined that they speak of Norway. These articles include footwear, headwear, outerwear, underwear, clothing accessories, bedding, floor covering, household accessories (e.g., table covers), art objects (e.g., tapestries), etc., as well as the tools and equipment used in the production of these.
Oral History	"historical information that is obtained in interviews with persons who have led significant lives and that is usually tape-recorded." (Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary)
Physical Environment	the surrounding environment such as weather patterns, climate and temperature, geography, land structures and resources, as well as the near environment which includes clothing, furniture and buildings.
Subculture	"a part of society differentiated by common interests and guided by a social system more or less distinctive from the rest of the community." (Horn and Gurel, 1981)

Tradition	"patterns of beliefs, customs, values, behavior and knowledge or expertise which are passed on from generation to generation by the socialization process within a given population." (Seymour-Smith, 1986)
Values	"a conception, explicit or implicit, distinctive of an individual or characteristic of a group, of the desirable which influences the selection from available modes, means and ends of action." (Kluckhohn, 1952 in Seymour-Smith, 1986)
Western-styled Clothing	clothing whose styles and materials follow those of North American or mainland European fashion centres.
Written and Visual Documentary Sources	all those published and unpublished, written and visual materials in institutions or belonging to individuals which contain information about the clothing and textile artifacts of Valhalla Centre, Alberta.

1.5 Limitations and Delimitations

1.5.1 Limitations

1. Due to the voluntary nature of the research, the data recorded and analyzed are not all-inclusive of the clothing and textile and related artifacts actually produced and/or used in Valhalla Centre, Alberta.
2. Due to the fact that not all original settlers in Valhalla Centre are still living, the information retrieved in this research does not give a complete picture of settlement and life in the community and area.
3. Due to the open nature of the oral history questions, specific response information was out of the researcher's control. Resulting analyses and discussions reflecting only that information brought out by the oral history informants may differ from information which may have been obtained through other, more direct, methods.

1.5.2 Delimitations

1. The research addresses only those clothing and textile artifacts and practices that exhibit identifiable Norwegian characteristics. It may therefore present a skewed view of total and general clothing and textiles of Valhalla Centre, Alberta.
2. The research is limited to those persons who identify themselves in the telephone directory as residing in the Valhalla Centre area located through the Valhalla Centre Lutheran Church and other contact individuals. The research may therefore not reflect information about general Norwegian settlement in the Peace River district or in Alberta.

2. Literature Review

The review of literature for this research covers six topics. The first topic discusses the modern world view and attitudes toward the past, looking at how museums and ecomuseums fit into this view. The second section looks at material culture studies as they pertain to museums, while the third touches upon the broad area of ethnicity. The fourth section reviews the process of Norwegian immigration to North America and more specifically to Alberta. The fifth topic gives an historical account of the immigrants to the community of Valhalla Centre, Alberta. The final section discusses Norwegian clothing and textile characteristics and design.

Each of the topics covered in this review of literature is related to the others in varying and complex ways. They are presented together here in a straightforward and logical manner, as much for the researcher's clearness of mind as for the reader's. Because the research fits into the broad framework of the new museology and the éco-musée concept, the review begins with a look at society's attitudes to the past, the purposes of museums and the disciplined study of museology. In this section, a concise explanation of the new museology and the phenomenon of ecomuseums is provided. Because inventories of material culture artifacts are an intrinsic part in the development of ecomuseums, and because it is this process with which this research is involved, the general field and methods of study of material culture are next reviewed.

The next major sections of the literature review deal with people and are the cultural focus of the research. Without people with their particular characteristics and customs, artifacts and museums set up to interpret their lives are without meaning and context. Therefore, the subjects of ethnicity and the immigration process from Norway to North America are next addressed. The immigrants' attitudes as well as the possessions they brought are included. Following this, a specific description of the history and character of the community of Valhalla Centre is given, bringing the reader closer and more intimately involved with the research and its ramifications for the people of the community. Finally, the specific attributes of the Norwegian clothing and textiles and their history are addressed, providing a background against which to present the clothing and textile artifacts discovered in Valhalla Centre.

2.1 Modern Attitudes Toward the Past: Museology and Ecomuseums

2.1.1 Modern Attitudes Toward the Past: Museology

MacCannell (1976), in his book *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class*, looks at modern society and its characteristics. He sees society as having entered a new age - the 'Age of Modernity'; the 'Industrial Age', built on productivity and the work ethic, has passed. "[The] Post-industrial Revolution will be primarily about the development of people, people more selective and discriminating in what they choose to do with their increased leisure and demanding quality and personal involvement." (Cossons, 1983, as cited in Stevenson, 1987, p. 33) MacCannell observes that in this 'Age of Modernity' there is an open structure of work and leisure, with people having total freedom to cross social and cultural borders and to move to other places. In this open structure, he finds that people work not for the sake of working, but so they can afford to leave the workplace to watch other people live and work. This phenomenon he calls the 'Universal Drama of Work' (p. 63).

MacCannell sees within this 'Age of Modernity' a self-consciousness on the part of communities and individuals (1976). He sees a concern for quality, authenticity and true meaning in life, instigated by doubt in the fabric of the society and in each person's experiences. According to MacCannell, people are compelled to leave their homes periodically to find some community or culture in which they can involve themselves and seize as their own 'authentic' experience. Their existence is made more concrete by this experience and by fact that they are aware of themselves and their own community as an 'authentic' experience for others. Young (1986) reaffirms this self-consciousness and awareness of community development: "Even in...Canada, there is strong evidence of a renaissance in community self-recognition and achievement." (cited in Douglas, 1987, p. 22)

Douglas (1987) joins MacCannell (1967) in his observation that communities in modern society have complex structures, with a differentiation built into them to deal with cultural and economic development. MacCannell breaks down communities into the following structures:

1. Government and political structures
2. Private businesses
3. Economic structures
4. Attractions and cultural events set up as part of the tourism structures.

Lowenthal (1985), in his book *The Past is a Foreign Country*, goes beyond these concrete structures, and depicts communities as collections of values and symbols of the past and present culture, embraced in a body of used and unused material culture artifacts. The combination of these artifacts and the concrete structures work together to keep communities alive and growing (Lowenthal; MacCannell).

In his statement concerning modern communities, MacCannell (1976) includes their self-consciousness of their role as tourist attractions. He notes that communities are aware of their part in their own development as attractions. There is "...a simultaneous development of industrial structure and modern self-consciousness so the industrial structures are realized as attractions even as they are first coming into existence." (MacCannell, p. 187) "Popular commentators, academics and others have pointed out the North American trend toward decentralization, local self-determination, effective participation in contrast to formal representation and localized control." (Naisbitt, 1984, cited in Douglas, 1987, p. 22)

Lowenthal (1985) observes that communities and individuals in modern society look to themselves and to the past. "Beyond mere curiosity lies a deep fascination with how things used to be, an eagerness for lifelike insights into the past, near or remote, familiar or arcane." (p. 367) Addressing the controversy on the benefits of looking to the past, he records that progressively-minded people believe that it is not wise to preserve what has gone before. In clinging to the past, they hold, the progress of the present is hindered and the present itself is not thoroughly experienced or enjoyed (Lowenthal). He relates that they believe society should forget what lies behind, and surge forward. From this progressive perspective, "...people realize that tradition *is* a brake on progress...[and] that the past does indeed constrain the present." (p. 69)

Lowenthal contends that one cannot let go of the past, however, for if he did, he would then lack the resources to go on - that which gives him "...a firm anchorage in time and place." (1985, p. 38) In order to understand a community in its broadest sense, the collective memory should be accessible and studied (Lowenthal). It is precisely this lack of knowledge of the past which creates doubt in the authenticity of the modern individual's life (Lowenthal).

Key (1973) and Lowenthal (1985) discuss the need for continuity of life in modern society. Lowenthal acknowledges that modern people are looking for an existence in which there are "...merging traces of the past with one another and the present." (p. 60) Key maintains that the study of the past

> ...must also ensure continuity of history in all spheres of human endeavor by building up an imperishable record from the beginning of time being aware that, as one writer phrased it - "The future grows out of the present but only with the understanding of the past." (p. 326)

Key states that in bringing together the past and present, "...history, we now accept, ends yesterday." (1973, p. 326) Both Key and Lowenthal (1985) see this as one good reason to let history live along with the present. Lowenthal reinforces this by adding that "...to know what we were confirms that we are..." (p. 197), and that "...continuity implies a living past bound up with the present, not one exotically different or obsolete." (p. 62) The motivation to preserve carries with it the assumption that the past was unlike the present, and that there must be evidences of change in order to prove the existence and precedence of the past (Key; Lowenthal).

Lowenthal and MacCannell see the museum as one of society's cultural structures that will bring the past into vision. In their opinion it is the museum's responsibility to collect and present information about the past so that individuals may obtain a broader understanding of it. "Fuller awareness of the past involves familiarity with processes conceived and completed, recollections of things said and done, stories about people and events - the common stuff of memory and history." (Lowenthal, p. 186) According to Lowenthal, the perspective from which people view the past is important because it greatly affects their attitude toward the present and the future. He stresses that in order for people to understand the past, it must be organized and presented in a meaningful way. "[To] span the mental gulf between the past and present, to communicate convincingly, and to invest historical accounts with interpretive coherence requires their continual reshaping." (p. 235) Lowenthal relates that the parts that make up the whole of all previous ways of life must be correctly joined so that the message is not distorted. He warns that inaccurate information could create a false image and defeat the purpose of the presentation.

MacCannell (1976) reports that the museums and other organizations responsible for cultural events consider the past important and worthy of correct interpretation. These organizations take care to plan a presentation of the past that may be fully and effectively interpreted and appreciated by visitors. Under direction of the organizations, says MacCannell, museum buildings are built to display the artifacts and social history of the community.

Key (1973), Lowenthal (1985) and Ripley (1969) give accounts of the history of museums in society. Ripley recalls that in the 19th century "...museums became centers for national pride, for research in the past and for public instruction..." (p. 37), and that at the American Museum of Natural History in New York "...displays and exhibits for the public evoked the principle of 'public instruction'". (p. 49)

Although Ripley records an increase in the number of public museums in the early 20th century, he indicates that they were still not well arranged or interesting (1969). In support of Ripley, Key (1973) and Lowenthal (1985) observe that the presentations of objects in museums were generally static and uni-directional, with the objects in exhibit cases instead of in their original environment. Lowenthal and Ripley observe that visitors were not able to see the objects in use or in communion with the surroundings of ongoing life and changes in social structure and technology. Ripley adds that even in the re-presentations, objects lacked the vitality and authenticity of life. To Lowenthal, this lack of environmental context is detrimental. "Perhaps the most grievous effect of dispersing antiquities is the loss of environmental context." (p. 287)

Hudson (1977; 1987), Lowenthal (1985) and MacCannell (1976) examine the state of the museum in modern society. Lowenthal and MacCannell find that modern museum organizations are aware of their role within the new structure; they realize the importance of a knowledge of and familiarity with the past in order to be better equipped for the present and the future (Hudson; Lowenthal).

> One can sense throughout the world...two developments of great importance to museums. One is a growing feeling that the past and the present shade off into one another and that a sensitivity to the achievements of the past can be a great help towards understanding the present. (Hudson, 1977, p. 6)

In view of this, Hudson and Lowenthal relate that museum organizations are working to provide continuity of life for individuals and communities, to give them the ability to grasp their ongoing relationship with the world and to help them prepare for their future (1977; 1985). "[The] museum profession is anxiously and urgently seeking a renewal of the museum as a necessary instrument of service to society." (deVarine, p. 185)

> In a modern world which is attempting to muster all the resources that can contribute to development, museology must seek to extend its traditional roles and functions of identification, conservation and education to initiatives which are more far-reaching than these objectives, and thus integrate its action more successfully into the human and physical environment. (Mayrand, 1985, p. 201)

2.1.2 Ecomuseums

One of the first new developments pointed out by Hudson (1977) and Key (1973) is a "...growing interest in 'museums without walls', community museums and ecomuseums." (Hudson, 1977, p. 11) "In the first quarter of the twentieth century, the preservation or reconstruction of entire communities [was] brought into being as historical museums *in situ*." (Key, p. 93) Hudson notes that museum organizations recognize the potential attraction of the entire community as a total cultural production, involving government, industry and economic sectors as vital parts of the organization and the attraction itself (1977). Museology is increasingly aware of the possibility "...that every town and every [site] can be thought of as a museum, if not for today, then for tomorrow." (Hudson, 1977, p. 65)

Stevenson (1987) sees the ecomuseums as part of the 'new museology' within the museum world. "I would suggest that the 'new museology' exists because some peoples' needs are not being met by existing institutions or by existing forms and notions." (Stevenson, 1987, p. 31)

The 1985 issue of *Museum* is dedicated to the concept of éco-musée. According to the writers of the articles, the éco-musée concept, with its resulting ecomuseums, is a new direction within the museum world. As a new development it has been growing steadily for the past fifteen to twenty years, along with the increase in modern self-awareness (Rivière, 1985). The term, 'éco-musée', was introduced to museology in 1971 by the French Minister of the Environment, National Parks, Georges H. Rivière (deVarine, 1985). The idea stems from the folk museums of the Scandinavian countries and the living heritage parks of North America (deVarine, 1985; Rivière, 1985). However, the ecomuseum encompasses more than an open-air museum in which

> ...small buildings, mostly from rural areas, have been brought together from different parts of the country, partly for safety, partly for purposes of comparison and partly in order that more people can have the opportunity of seeing them than if they had remained on their original sites. (Hudson, 1977, pp. 72-3)

Dalibard (1984) and Querrien (1985) state that the ecomuseums do not simply collect bare and lifeless artifacts in isolated settings. In their view, the ecomuseums extend outside the four walls of the museum and allow the artifacts to remain in their original indoor and outdoor environments.. According to Dalibard, these 'environments' allow visitors to use all their senses, and to see the relationships between artifacts used in both earlier and later periods.

> In a conventional museum, [interpretation] is accomplished by focusing attention on objects in a display frame, by providing interpretive explanations using printed texts or audio-visual media, and by placing related displays next to one another to enhance contextual understanding. This contextual approach makes of heritage a spectator sport. Ecomuseums build on that approach by

> taking the museum 'outdoors' and by making participants of the local residents. (Dalibard, 1984, p. 3)

The éco-musée concept is young, diverse and constantly changing, producing a variety of unique ecomuseums (Querrien, 1985). "It is an institution which insists on remaining tentative and provisional, which we must be careful not to encapsulate in any formula borrowed from other categories." (Querrien, p. 199) Konaré (1985) and MacCannell (1976) hold the modern society responsible for the creation of this movement. "The vision...the...population has of man, of the natural world which surrounds him and of the need for the struggle for survival, corresponds to an ecomuseum vision, a specific attitude of self-knowledge, self-recognition and self-imposed responsibility...." (Konaré, p. 236)

The ecomuseum itself is allotted numerous definitions. According to deVarine, (1985, p. 185) it is "...a deep-rooted movement in the museum world, one that is still inadequately defined and often side-tracked, one that will leave its imprint on the institution and transform the discipline, without being a radical revolution." According to Lowenthal (1985), Querrien (1985), Dalibard (1984) and Heron (1983), the ecomuseum is a conglomeration of the past and the present, anticipating the future. MacCannell (1976) explains that in the ecomuseum, "...nature and the past are made a part of the present...." (p. 84) As Lowenthal proposes, history lives along with the present. All that was is held together and presented as a whole to those who are experiencing it (1985). "We require a heritage with which we continually interact, one which fuses past with present." (Lowenthal, p. 410) Dalibard also says that the material artifacts of the past exist with the objects of the present culture in order to give each a context and a perspective in time and space, and to bring all of time together.

> One of the most important things about an ecomuseum is the concept of continuity. Ecomuseums deal with the past, true enough; but they don't deal with the past alone: they are constantly connecting the past to what is

> important today...In this way, ecomuseums are very much a link: they show a community in evolution. (Dalibard, 1984, p. 4)

Heron states that the ecomuseum also increases peoples' awareness of the future because of the 'Imminent Presence' (1983, p. 12). He relates that through this 'Imminent Presence', people see how their lives relate to yesterday and are better equipped for what they encounter tomorrow (Heron, 1983). Lowenthal notes that one of the limitations of the ecomuseum is that the past appears as one block of time seen through today's eyes (1985). It "...creates the impression that these people coexisted rather than succeeded each other." (p. 351) He further notes that there is no way to truly experience the past or any other society's life (1985). Their life is their own and the onlookers will always see things from their own perspective. "...[We] cannot now avoid feeling that the past *is* to some extent our own creation." (Lowenthal, p. 410)

Dalibard (1984) recognizes that the ecomuseum envelops its entire community and actually contains it. "It is the product of an alliance between heritage professionals and citizens strongly committed to the preservation of buildings, artifacts, and activities characteristic of their neighborhoods." (p. 2). Along with Lowenthal (1985), he suggests that the ecomuseum, instead of having a series of attractions and cultural productions, combines these into a total society, planned to give the visitor a complete look at past and present life from all perspectives - sociological, psychological, cultural, anthropological, historical, material cultural, economical, technological, scientific, ecological, ideological, and aesthetic.

> Furthermore, heritage is presented not only in a systematic or thematic way but also in a systemic or interdisciplinary way: The collection is the entire natural and cultural heritage of an area, artifacts are preserved in their context, an everyday point of view is maintained. (Dalibard, 1986, p. 3)

Thus, it is seen that the objects, lives and events of historical people are in their fullest context in the ecomuseum (Lowenthal, 1985). This, according to Lowenthal, gives the most effective interpretation.

> This laboratory, conservation centre and school are based on common principles. The culture in the name of which they exist is to be understood in its broadest sense, and they are concerned to foster awareness of its dignity and artistic manifestations... (Rivière, 1985, p. 18)

In their work with ecomuseums, deVarine, Evrard and Rivière say that where such éco-musée concepts are employed, the extant community, with all the richness of the past and present life, is preserved (1985; 1985; 1985). They hold that employing the éco-musée concept in this situation is useful to the community residents, to the political and economic structure of the surrounding area, and to researchers and visitors. "An ecomuseum is an instrument conceived, fashioned and operated jointly by a public authority and a local population." (Rivière, pp. 182-3) Konaré (1985) states that the community must possess "...a desire to take charge of oneself....[The ecomuseum] must be instigated from inside and recognized by outside authorities. Its success will depend on...the extent to which local populations were allowed to participate in every phase of [its] implementation." (p. 236) "As a mode of participation and management the éco-musée concept could constitute a major breakthrough in the field of culture, and, for that matter, in life in general." (Konaré, 1985, p. 236)

Heron (1983) and MacCannell (1976) see the creation of the ecomuseum as part of the community planning for tourism and development. According to Heron there must be proper planning, management and programs, involving government officials and agencies, privately owned companies and community members. MacCannell (p. 162) is convinced that the government must be pro-tourist - willing to see the community as an attraction to others. Heron insists that the residents be made aware of the ecomuseum's potential and of the impact it will have on them and their lives; they must know what their responsibilities will be. Together, all those involved must decide on the historical suitability and feasibility of the community, the specific emphasis and nature of the ecomuseum, and the ongoing management, support systems and programs (deVarine, 1985).

As seen by Konaré (1985) and MacCannell (1976), the ecomuseum plays a major role in planning for tourism, for the whole economic system is built into this modern structure of the ecomuseum. "Tourism is economic...." (MacCannell, p. 177) By organizing an ecomuseum specific to its environment in an appropriate location, tourism will increase and the economy will therefore flourish. (MacCannell, p. 182) The "...growth of tourism shows true modernization - a modern society." (MacCannell, p. 182) As stated earlier, visitors search for reality in places visited, and MacCannell observes that tourists create revenue in the sites they visit because they are willing to pay for their visit. The location therefore will be able to support itself and become an intregal part of the modern world (MacCannell, 1976).

Heron (1983), Querrien (1985) and Rivière (1985) state that in utilizing the éco-musée concept in a community, the community itself becomes the following entities: (a) a learning centre and a school, (b) a living community and a living heritage area with real people living out their existence spatially and temporally (Heron, pp. 9-10), (c) a tourist visitation spot where visitors can participate in recreation activities, (d) a boost to the area's economy, increasing revenue and stability through increased tourist expenditure, (e) a centre to reestablish traditional customs, crafts and art, and (f) a research laboratory for social and cultural development (Rivière, p. 182).

Rivière (1985) states that the ecomuseum is also a "...mirror in which the local population views itself to discover its own image...[and holds] up to its visitors so that it may be better understood and so that its industry, customs and identity may command respect." (p. 182) As well, "...[it] is a conservation centre, in so far as it helps to preserve and develop the natural and cultural heritage of the population." (Rivière, pp. 182-3) "As a repository of the heritage, its impetus is to inventory, collect and conserve." (Querrien, 1985, p. 198) It must be remembered in the planning stages, however, that artifacts in the ecomuseum "...can't be preserved in the same way as art museum collections." (Querrien, p. 199)

According to Rivière, (1985, p. 182) the ecomuseum is also an expression of man and nature, an expression of time, and an interpretation of space. Konaré (1985) says it is also used

> ...to rekindle the critical spirit and judgement of the local people so that they may identify their own problems, to give them new confidence in themselves, greater scope for individual initiative, and to make them more responsible members of the community. (pp. 235-6)

Querrien (1985) recognizes that the community which instrumentalizes the éco-musée concept lives in a constant state of tension and must always be looking for new and diverse ways to grow and develop. Expanding on this, he notes that the community must struggle between preserving artifacts from the past, therefore showing the difference between past and present, and leaving the past behind and forgotten.

MacCannell (1976) concludes his discussion of the éco-musée concept by saying that in total, the community becomes a full 'cultural production' based on staged authenticity of the past and present (p. 29). The people and the products of the community are on display for others as symbols of the culture and its values and are a vital part of the modern society which clings to such concepts (MacCannell).

2.2 Material Culture

Lowenthal and Dalibard hold that the material culture of the past and present community is a vital part of ecomuseums (1985; 1984). "Because artifacts are at once past and present, their historical and modern roles interact." (Lowenthal, p. 248) As Lowenthal puts it, "...relics saved enhance our sense of history, link us with our own and other people's pasts, and shed glory on nations, neighborhoods, and individuals." (p. 389) Again, "...more than for any functional use, we treasure the old things in our homes for the pastness inherent in them. They reflect ancestral inheritance, recall former friends and occasions, and link past with future generations." (p. 52)

> Every person makes and uses objects of some sort. In the activities of making and using things, humans surround themselves with objects according to personal and social standards, needs, identities, and instincts. They use technology available in the society, and adapt products and processes according to individual and social demands and mores. (Bronner, p. 14)

Turner gives material culture the broad definition of "...the material or artifact records of a society and the study of these records." (1984, p. 87) Schlereth states that "...material culture research is both an old and a new scholarly enterprise,...historians have only recently begun to discover its potential in cultural analysis." (1985, p. 1) He defines current material culture study as "...the study through artifacts (and other pertinent historical evidence) of the belief systems - the values, ideas, attitudes, and assumptions - of a particular community or society, usually across time...." (1982, p. 3)

Bronner (1985) places the beginnings of material culture studies as such in the late nineteenth century. He records that its strongest voice was that of Stewart Culin at the University of Pennsylvania. Culin became the Curator of the American Folklore Society in 1897. "In exhibits and writings he set out to show the 'language of things' and their distinctive story of culture and tradition." (Bronner, p. 5) According to Bronner, Culin's material culture studies were then based on scientific theory and did not change until the mid-twentieth century when interest in material culture which supports cultural pluralism and calls for the egalitarian ethic began to be supported.

In his account, Bronner identifies Louis C. Jones as a prominent figure in rediscovering material culture studies (1985). Jones, who did his work in 1947, was intent on "...studying the artifacts in the light of human experience...." (Bronner, p. 10) He saw all of these concrete objects as vital parts of society and links to understanding people and their experiences. "Fixing on the object let him telescope culture, and bring the past closer to the present." (Bronner, p. 10) Continuing, Bronner relates that in the 1960's there emerged "...an interest in understanding the flow of everyday life...and its shaping influence on a diversified American culture [which] demanded new documents of people, such as those provided by folk objects." (p. 10) Researchers, he noted, found they were able to discover "...information about the identities of individuals by taking note of their material surroundings." (p. 13) They could look at these evidences of everyday use and production to understand much of what ordinary people, and thus general society, valued (Bronner).

As Bronner (1985) perceives it, the premises of material culture study are that (a) objects signify culture, (b) objects provide information which supplements and may be distinct from written and oral evidence, and (c) physical information on objects can be synthesized with knowledge on spiritual and intellectual realms of human life.

It is noted by Bronner that the study of material culture today is not focused ultimately on the artifacts themselves, but on the people of the culture being studied. According to behavioral scientists Mihalyi Csikszentmihalyi and Eugene Rochberg-Halton, "...to understand what people are and what they might become, one must understand what goes on between people and things." (Bronner, p. 18) To this end, material culture study, according to Tokarev's theory of sociohistoric evolution, is "...the relation of people to one another revealed in the appearance and use of traditional objects." (Bronner, p. 78)

> In 1940...anthropologist Gladys Reichard, editor of the Journal of American Folklore, criticized collectors who set objects apart "as if they were isolated from all other aspects of life." She urged that objects be "coordinated with the social, religious, economic, and psychological background of their owners", and the study of culture include the 'tangible' as well as the spiritual and intellectual. (Bronner, p. 17)

Material culture study does not however exclude the study of or reliance on verbal and visual evidence available with the artifact (Bronner, 1985). Bronner says that without the researched information and its supporting material the textile artifact is only a skeleton. "Spoken words, written documents, and performed movements are necessary to give the object life and meaning." (Bronner, p. 17) He states that "...[people] use objects as symbols. Each person recognizes objects as metaphors for human experience and value." (p. 23) "Memory, history, and relics offer routes to the past best traversed in combination. Each route requires the others for the journey to be significant and credible. Relics trigger recollection, which history affirms and extends backwards in time." (Lowenthal, p. 249)

> Artifacts clearly are not the only research sources available nor are they always the best ones. It behooves any researcher, regardless of the goals of his or her activity - public education, scholarly publication, or exhibits - to consult as many relevant sources as possible, including archival documents and records, aural history descriptions, published records, historical photographs, and material history collections. Artifacts are highly significant because they are, in effect, a primary source but, like any other, they are often misleading. (Turner, 1984, p. 87)

Material culture study actually combines all of these areas, but stresses the importance of first-hand experience with the artifact as an important link in the complete story (Bronner). According to deVarine, "...this is a path that leads to the totality of the human adventure, both ancient and contemporary, through recourse to the only language which transcends cultural difference, that of the concrete object." (p. 185) Bronner states that having the concrete object available to tell its stories is crucial. "The most significant characteristic of the artifact is the concrete, manipulable nature of the artifact." (p. 15) He goes further to say that the artifact stimulates visual awareness and gives a real image from which to gather the symbolic information about the culture of the community.

Lowenthal holds that the various types of artifacts are valuable links to the life of the past because their existence can often complete the story of individuals and groups (1985). Condon makes similar remarks (1983). "Surely material history will centre on a preoccupation with the direct evidence offered by the artifact - its form, function, substance, design, fabrication, cost, history, and above all, its meaning to particular humans as an expression of need and aspiration." (Condon, p. 144) "By combining an informed knowledge of historical context with a disciplined appreciation of the artifact's properties and its unique capacity to reflect sentient life and symbolic meaning, the material historians can open up a new vista upon the human past." (Condon, p. 145)

Sturtevant provides both a concise and a lengthy procedure for analyzing and categorizing artifacts in his *Guide to Field Collecting of Ethnographic Specimens* (1977). Models for studying material culture objects of people's everyday lives have been produced by Fleming and Prown (1974; 1982). Fleming's model approaches the study of artifacts systematically (*Towards a Material Culture Methodology*, 1985; Pearce, 1986c)(see Figure 2.1). Prown works with a similar model which is published in his work of 1982 (*Towards a Material Culture Methodology*, 1985)(see

Figure 2.1 Diagram of a Model for Artifact Studies
(after Fleming, 1974, p. 154)

(A) Operations	(B) Information supplementing the artifact
4. Interpretation (significance)	values of present culture
3. Cultural Analysis (relationship of artifact to its culture)	selected aspects of artifact's culture
2. Evaluation (judgements)	comparisons with other objects
1. Identification (factual description)	
The artifact: history, material, construction, design and function.	

Figure 2.2 Methodology for Material Culture Study
(after Prown, 1982, p. 7)

1. Description	2. Deduction	3. Speculation
a. Substantial Analysis	a. Sensory Engagement	a. Theories and Hypotheses
b. Content	b. Intellectual Engagement	b. Program of Research
c. Formal Analysis	c. Emotional Response	

Figure 2.2). In addition to his model, Prown divides artifacts into six categories: (a) art, (b) diversions, (c) adornment, (d) modifications of the landscape, (e) applied art and (f) devices (p. 3).

In later studies these models are adapted (*Towards a material history methodology*, 1985; Pearce, 1986c). Finley and his fellow students in a graduate seminar at the University of New Brunswick in 1983-4 take the models of Fleming and Prown and test, evaluate and modify them according to their findings (1985). The seminar students hold that Prown brought speculation into the procedure too early and had problems in the order and assumptions of his methodology. They view the "...artifact as the starting point of analysis before the consultation of supplementary source material." (p. 32) They also find that in Prown's model it is difficult to distinguish when one treatment stops and another begins. In looking at Fleming's model, the seminar students find the treatment process for each artifact too complex for straightforward identification.

The students create their own analysis method (1985) (see Figure 2.3). Not as complex as Fleming's, its "...standardized format [appears] to give each artifact property more definition through the application of an ordered series of question categories." (p. 33) The analysis method includes questions in the categories of material, construction, provenance, function and value. Each set of questions includes the following three types of data: (a) data from the object itself, (b) comparative data from related objects and (c) the analysis of other visual and written sources. In addition to this, they take information from the artifacts at two levels. The artifact is first studied as an historical document in itself and then studied as an historical document with qualitative and quantitative historical value.

Pearce (1986a, 1986b, 1986c) looks at the study of artifacts in a series of articles for the *Museums Journal*. She recognizes that "...each person has a unique collection of beliefs, skills, motives and personal history which their material culture

Figure 2.3 Analysis Method for Artifacts
(as developed by graduate seminar students, Toward a Material History Methodology, 1985, p. 35)

Analysis Procedure	Material	Construction	Function	Provenance	Value
Step 1 Observable Data					
Step 2 Comparative Data					
Step 3 Supplementary Data					
Step 4 CONCLUSIONS					

expresses." (p. 80) "Objects are seen as uniquely related to their own human, temporal and environmental context, and are interpreted with reference to these things." (Pearce, p. 82) Pearce states that "...objects embody unique information about the nature of man in society." (p. 198) She holds that one should be able to ask the how, what, when, where, by whom and why about every object dealt with in order to gather better understanding and interpretation of them (1986c).

Pearce's artifact study model is based on Fleming's systematic model (1986c)(see Figure 2.4). She divides the study of artifacts into the four main areas of material, history, environment and significance. She deals with material in more depth than Fleming, and places function under the heading of history. Her model addresses artifact properties to be examined as well as the procedures included in each examination.

Dalibard, Lowenthal and Querrien speak of the use of material culture studies within the éco-musée concept (1984; 1985; 1985). The objects are inventoried and used in the ecomuseum in a different way than in most museums and historic sites (Dalibard; Querrien).

> The objects that it does assemble are bound up with everyday life. Some of them may be eliminated as a result of continuing use, or owing to the wear and tear resulting from their being displayed in operation....Other objects, once they have been inventoried and studied, may be returned to their owners and reinstated in their environment. (Querrien, p. 199)

Konaré states that in the ecomuseum, "...the objects would remain in the possession of their owners or their users. These would include more particularly those objects being regularly used as part of local cultural life. An object that is 'kept alive' is one that is suitably preserved." (1985, p. 235) It is evident from the literature that this usage of the artifacts strikes some curators and conservators as being irreverent towards the artifacts and the exact history of the community (Mayrand; Querrien). Mayrand says that the éco-musée concept has been "...reproached with rejecting the sacrosanct principles of the profession and assigning greater importance to social considerations than to the ethics of conservation." (1985, p. 200) Mayrand recognizes this as an ethical limitation of the ecomuseum, but is convinced that in order to reveal the complete story about a community, there must be a compromise between the pristine preservation of an object and the keeping of the working object in its place as part of a community's or culture's ongoing story.

Figure 2.4 Proposed Model for Artifact Studies (Pearce, 1986c, p. 200)

Artefact has material, history, environment, significance

1. Material - construction and ornament	physical description, relevant records
2. Material - design, of itself, of ornament	comparison with other artefacts to create typology sets
3. Material - characterisation i. provenance ii. industrial techniques	comparison with other samples and artefacts
4. History i. its own history ii. its subsequent history iii. its practical function	dating etc. techniques, relevant documentary research
5. Environment - context i. micro ii. macro	on site recording, research
6. Environment - location i. in the landscape ii. in relation to patterning	landscape and location studies
7. Significance	chosen philosophical and psychological systems
8. Interpretation - role of artefact in social organisation	sum of previous study, body of cultural knowledge and analytical techniques

2.3 Ethnicity

There is a general consensus that people who live together develop a unique way of life that is to some extent different from other groups (Ager, 1977a; Isajiw, 1979; Isajiw, 1981; Konaré, 1985). The manner in which they react to their environment, develop values, ideas, and beliefs, and create and use objects is unique to them (Ager, 1977a; Isajiw, 1979). Ager, in *The Great Levelling*, states that each culture produces "...a soul which was created by a peculiar and distinctive ethnic life and nurtured under peculiar circumstances." (1977a, p. 102) He stresses that this ethnic life cannot be cast off or put on, or be totally changed, but that it remains with a person to some degree throughout life. It is the degree of this sustained life that Ager labels as their level of ethnicity.

An in-depth treatment of ethnicity is beyond the scope of this research. It is useful, however, to briefly address the topic to give the reader a better understanding of how the material culture of the Norwegian immigrants acts as a visual display of sustained ethnic background.

The discussion of ethnicity in the literature is addressed from various disciplines and perspectives (Ager, 1977a; Holloman, 1978; Isajiw, 1979; Isajiw, 1981; Jacobsen, 1972; Konaré, 1985; Palmer & Palmer, 1985; Seymour-Smith, 1986). The literature shows that the study of ethnicity is broad and varied and that the study of it is often a problem because of the multitude of components involved (Holloman, 1978; Isajiw, 1979; Isajiw, 1981).

Definitions of ethnicity are also broad and varied. Isajiw finds that the definitions of ethnicity and ethnic group vary according to the discipline involved and the purpose of the study (1979). He notes that "...any definition is to an extent arbitrary. Most significantly, variations among definitions depend on the level of generalization, the methodological approach used, and the types of variables included." (1979, p. 5) Researchers are hesitant to give explicit definitions for ethnicity and ethnic group, often implying in their text that an ethnic group is any group who identifies themselves as a common group.

> ...there may be good reasons for not explicitly stating any definition of ethnicity. There is always the danger that any definition may be either too narrow and therefore inapplicable to the ethnic groups under study, or else too general and hence devoid of substantive meaning. (1979, p. 1)

Isajiw differentiates between what ethnicity is, and what it is or specifically means in North America (1979). He holds that these are different entities and that the meaning is dependent on location. An ethnic group may be the major group in Europe, but in North America it is often the minority within the larger society.

Isajiw also differentiates between two types of definitions - subjective definitions, or the person's self-identity, and objective definitions, or the identity given by others (1979). He holds that the most effective definition is one which brings both of these views together. In a later study, Isajiw reports that a person's ethnic identity is all "...the attributes and behavior patterns which derive from membership in an ethnic group..." (1981, p. 2), and that the identity arises from both internal and external factors in their society. Barth, in Holloman (1978), uses the objective view of ethnicity in his definition: "The social organization of cultural difference." (p. 3) He regards "...ethnicity as a general social status which, like class, age and sex can be used to organize interaction in many contexts." (Holloman, 1978, p. 4) The objective forces, such as immigrant policies and cultural policies, have different effects in the United States and Canada, and therefore cause ethnic groups to be seen differently in these two countries (Isajiw, 1979). Isajiw states that the subjective view of ethnicity deals with the group's view of themselves, and is at this extreme a matter of belief (1979).

> ...the subjective approach defines ethnicity as a process by which individuals

> either identify themselves as being different from others or belonging to a different group or are identified as different by others, or both identify themselves, and are identified by others as different. (1979, p. 10)

Isajiw holds that "...[ethnicity] is a matter of double boundary, a boundary from within, maintained by the socialization process, and a boundary from without, established by the process of intergroup relations." (1979, p. 24) In his study, he gives examples of the combined subjective and objective definitions for ethnicity and ethnic group, using these to come up with general definitions for both (1979). He notes that Warner and Srole define ethnic as "...any individual who considers himself or is considered to be a member of a group with a foreign culture and who participates in the activities of the group." (1945, p. 28, as cited in Isajiw, 1979, p. 11) Also in Isajiw, Theodorson and Theodorson define an ethnic group as "...a group with a common cultural tradition and a sense of identity which exists as a subgroup of a larger society." (1969, p. 46, as cited in Isajiw, 1979, p. 5) Theodorson and Theodorson also hold that the ethnic group differs from the larger society in regards to specific cultural characteristics.

Seymour-Smith's definitions also share the combined view of ethnicity (1986). She defines ethnicity as "...the study relating to cultural persistence and change, the maintenance and crossing of all established boundaries, and the construction of boundaries that both separate and bind people in a myriad of ways." (1986, p. 496) According to Seymour-Smith, an ethnic group is "...any group of people who set themselves apart and are set apart from other groups with whom they interact or coexist in terms of some distinctive criterion or criteria which may be linguistic, racial or cultural." (1986, p. 496) Both subjective and objective views come together in Isajiw's conclusive general definition of an ethnic group (1979). He defines it as "...an involuntary group of people who share the same culture or the descendants of such people who identify themselves and/or are identified by others as belonging to the same involuntary group." (p. 25)

Konaré maintains that ethnicity and the interaction of different ethnic groups are the basis of all human development (1985). "How can we overlook the fact that human development is based on man's natural environment, cultural heritage, the creativity of local men and women, [and] the enrichment derived through exchange with other human groups...?" (p. 132) Ager and Konaré relate that when such a group comes into contact with another group, the differences between them become apparent (1977a; 1985). They observe that the uniqueness of each group, their beliefs, customs, modes of social interaction and cultural traits - the total way that they interpret life - is emphasized by their proximity to a group with a different set of codes. Ager observes that the psychological effects of leaving a familiar physical and cultural environment are substantial and that the near vicinity of other ethnic groups has an effect on a group's lifestyle and social activities. Unfamiliar surroundings are initially unsettling, compelling people to cling to what is known and to what confirms their identity. Their ethnicity, with both its internal and external frameworks, protects them from being absorbed by the resident group. At the same time, however, new environments are exciting, and spark new ideas and interests (Ager, 1977a). Ager states that with time, immigrants interact with the environment and other ethnic groups and develop new ideas and establish new relationships, experiences and customs to bond them there.

Many aspects of a culture are covered in the study of ethnicity (Ager, 1977a; Ager, 1977b; Holloman, 1978; Isajiw, 1979; Isajiw, 1981; Jacobsen, 1972). Ager and Holloman look at a range of items which include identity, personal attitudes, change, customs, language and material culture. Other researchers consider only one or two aspects when dealing with the subject. Ager states that the ethnicity of Norwegians is found in their language use (1977b). "When all is said, there is for each individual only one language which can reach the inner recesses of the mind, and that is the mother tongue...." (p. 58) "If language falls into disuse, then the interest for things Norwegian also dies." (p. 71) Isajiw finds that most common attributes of ethnicity are common ancestral origin, cultural traits, religion, race and language, but notes that the inclusion of race and language are dependent on the purposes of the research being done (1979). He notes that the basic attributes of an ethnic group must be "...an involuntary group sharing the same cultural traits." (p. 21) Isajiw finds, however, that those ethnic groups in North America have gone through generations and have been socialized into the larger society. Therefore, there must be an ethnic identity which persists beyond cultural assimilation. For some, it is a rediscovery of the ancestors' culture and cultural traits (Isajiw, 1979). For others, it is the use of a few select items of the past which are used to symbolize identity with the ethnic heritage. These people are free to choose the type and extent of their ethnic involvement.

Few researchers look at ethnicity from a material cultural point of view. Jacobsen does look at Norwegian ethnicity from this perspective, and more specifically, from the area of ethnic clothing and textile items (1972). She finds that internal ethnicity holds while external social evidence of it may die.

> [The] tendency of some immigrants and their descendants is to discard where possible external differences, enabling them to blend into the total population, and at the same time to retain and cherish certain symbols or expressions which relate them to the ethnic heritage. (p. 2)

In her literature review, Jacobsen finds that "...ethnic clothing, textiles, and household objects are thought to be...externals which, like foreign language...are the first to be discarded in the so-called assimilation process." (1972, pp. 2-3) Her study shows, however, that these ethnic material artifacts are not discarded, but retained and used under appropriate circumstances.

Palmer and Palmer look at the diversity of ethnic groups in Alberta and conclude that "...ethnicity has played, and continues to play, an important role in the lives of many Albertans." (1985, p. x) They find that each of the groups to settle in Alberta has kept a strong feeling of ethnicity and cultural awareness.

They admit that many do not belong to formal ethnic organizations but that "...in their lifestyles, in their values, and even in their personalities, [they] retain something of their cultural heritage." (1985, p. ix) It is within this cultural heritage that the present research looks at material culture, and specifically clothing and textile, traits as an indication to some extent of the degree of ethnic identity of the Norwegians in Valhalla Centre, Alberta.

2.4 Norwegian Immigration

2.4.1 General Characteristics

A substantial amount of literature exists on the general immigration of Norwegians to North America (Ager, 1977b; Bjork, 1974; Brunvand, 1974; Chrislock, 1981; Lovoll, 1984; Palmer & Palmer, 1985; *Norwegians in Canada*, 1967). Bjork and Lovoll state that emigration from Norway began in 1825, with the first boatload of Norwegians settling in the Eastern United States. *Norwegians in Canada* points out that "...Norwegians emigrated by the thousands from 1836 on..." (p. 13) while Lovoll contends that mass emigration did not occur until the 1870s, continuing until the early 1930s. This information refers largely to the United States, however, as "[continuous] settlement of Norwegians in Canadian territory...did not start until relatively late." (*Norwegians in Canada*, p. 13)

The literature offers some central reasons why Norwegians left Norway (Ager, 1977b; Chrislock, 1981). "Many emigrants...had left Norway in order to assure their children fresh opportunities in a new land." (Chrislock, p. 27) Ager reports that the economic situation was bad for the average family in Norway, and that "...immigration from Norway is not the result of political considerations. It has been an economic immigration." (p. 72) Their primary interests were not to remain Norwegian, but to break from the misery of nineteenth century Norway (Chrislock).

The Midwestern United States filled up steadily, with newcomers and young men pushing west and north with each season that revealed another shortage of land in their state (*Norwegians in Canada*, 1967). Early in the twentieth century, "...the Midwest became a prison of debts and a depressed economy, and many knew they could better their lot in Canada." (Bjork, pp. 4-5) "To a people accustomed to farming in the Upper Midwest, the [Canadian] prairie provinces, almost within arm's reach, exerted an almost irresistible appeal - a means of breaking out of a social and economic trap." (Bjork, p. 5)

The Norwegians first began their migration into Canada in the 1890's (Bjork, 1974; Brunvand, 1974; Lovoll, 1984). Hoping to find new, unused land, they travelled north to Winnipeg. With the Canadian Pacific Railway completed by 1885, they could travel west by rail to Calgary, and by 1894, north to Edmonton (Bjork). Bjork relates that in the closing year of the century (1899), there were 764 official Scandinavian immigrants, 473 of them being from the United States. By 1902, 2,253 Norwegians, 1,858 Swedish, and 351 Danes had immigrated to Western Canada.

Many Scandinavians, including Norwegians, were allowed into Canada (Bjork, 1974; Lovoll, 1984). "Migrants...[came] from the Dakotas, Iowa, and the grain-growing states to the immediate south." (Key, 1973, pp. 153-4) Janssen, who observes Swedish immigration into Canada, states that most of the immigrants came to Canada from Minnesota and North Dakota in the dry years between 1907 and 1910, signaling that the era of cheap and available land had come to an end in the United States (1982). Scandinavians were seen as preferable immigrants (Bjork). "Dominion officials regarded Scandinavians...as 'desirable' settlers and workers, and their view was shared by promoters of immigration in the province [Alberta]."

(Bjork, p. 6) "In the final analysis, of course, the greatest gifts of the Scandinavian immigrants were their willingness to work and perservere under pioneer conditions, their youth, and their experience as farmers." (Bjork, p. 28) This desirability led to substantial incentive programs to lure Scandinavians into Canada (Bjork; Janssen). According to Janssen, incentives for immigration into Canada included "...propaganda programs...aimed at Midwestern American farmers by the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, land development companies, and the Canadian government." (p. 113) Janssen reports further that with the Homestead Act of 1862, every immigrant could receive 160 acres free with full ownership after living on and cultivating it for five years. Bjork observes that Canadian Pacific and the Hudson's Bay Company owned huge tracks of land in Canada and managed to get settlers in their power by taking over mortgages to lands. As well, *Skandinaven*, a Norwegian newspaper of the time, the Canadian Pacific Railway and the Hudson's Bay Company did their work in the Scandinavian countries to add significantly to the flow of immigrants into Canada in the years before and after 1915 (Bjork).

The immigration movement to Canada peaked in the years 1913 to 1915 and then began to lag (Bjork, 1974). This lagging was partly due to the outbreak of World War 1. Bjork states that "...by 1921, [there were] 21,323 settlers of Norwegian descent in Alberta." (Bjork, p. 21) *Norwegians in Canada* puts the peak of immigration later, between 1925 and 1929 (1967).

Janssen observes that "...the greatest concentration of settlement of Norwegians was in the area southeast of Edmonton, dependent on geography, climate, occupation prior to emigration, and economic development of the settlement." (1982, p. 115) Palmer and Palmer also find that "...Norwegian farmers...settled mostly on CPR land in Central Alberta." (1985, p. 31) Later in the 1900s, this land in central Alberta was fully occupied, and in the 1910s, hearing of land in the north of Alberta, some Norwegians and other Scandinavians took the Edson Trail and settled up in the Peace River district (Bjork, 1974;

Brunvand, 1974; Janssen, 1982; *Norwegians in Canada*, 1967).

The literature addresses several aspects of Norwegian as well as general Scandinavian settlement and integration into Alberta (Bjork, 1974; Brunvand, 1974; Chrislock, 1981; Janssen, 1982; Lovoll, 1984; Useem, 1945). Bjork reports that the Norwegians "...as a group,...preferred to settle in colonies." (p. 16) According to Harney, "...the immigrants [on the whole] settled into areas according to their sense of fellow-feeling, language, folkways, work location and housing possessions." (1985, p. 1) Useem, in his study of minority groups on the Canadian prairies, states that Norwegians seemed to adjust well to the new life.

> Prairie minority groups neither entered a closely knit society nor were forced to conform to an established system of values antithetical to their indigenous ones. The Norwegians, consequently, found themselves free to develop their own social organization as they adjusted to prairie economy and ways of living required by the environment. It is obvious that much of the 'Old World' tradition should persist and, blending with the new, evoke some internal conflicts; but it is a unique fact that Norwegians were not frustrated by outside controls to the degree that they displaced their anxieties and discontents on each other. (1945, p. 377)

Janssen, in his study of Swedish settlement in Northern Alberta, shows its similiarity to Norwegian settlement in the same area:

> Immigrants often preferred to settle in a landscape and climate similar to that of their home district. The Peace River region with its lakes and forests probably reminded Northern Swedes of their native surroundings, and clearing work for the considerable settlement in the Peace River district was to a large extent carried out by some hundred Swedish pioneers. (1982, p. 118)

Norwegians in Canada reports that "...Norwegians in general tend to become integrated into Canadian life quickly and therefore have formed few organizations of their own. In early pioneering days quite a number of individualists had wills as unbending as the wilderness they came to harness." (1967, p. 16) Janssen speaks of life in Swedish settlements in Alberta that parallels closely that of Norwegian immigrant life:

> Life in the Swedish settlements reflected the cultural patterns of the homeland in virtually every aspect, particularly religion, but also education, social activities and secular organizations. Swedes were mostly church-going people and established churches in all of the major settlement areas. In early years of settlement, the churches were centres for the immigrants' religious and social life and also assumed responsibility for their bodily welfare. (1982, p. 119)

Change in physical location is a major aspect of the immigration process (Lovoll, 1984). The full impact of this movement to a similar or different environment is unknown. For the Norwegian immigrants in North America, adjustments to the new physical environment were not always easy (Brunvand, 1974; Lovoll, 1984). Lovoll states that for those accustomed to farming, the open prairies offered a similar livelihood, but even then, the type of land, the dry soil, the colder temperatures and the drastic seasonal changes demanded adjustments. For those Norwegians ooming from coastal areas, the prairies and the farm life was a major change. Temperature and other climatic factors, soil and vegetation, and availability of resources such as water and lumber all affected to some degree how the immigrants reacted to and coped with their situation (Lovoll, 1984; *Norwegians in Canada*, 1967). Lovoll holds that the livelihood and lifestyle of the immigrants changed as a result of these physical factors and the cultural environment encountered in the new land. He is convinced that the extent of assimilation and acculturation of the immigrant group into the larger society is a result of the impact of the physical and cultural environment upon the inner ethnic strength of the group and its individuals.

The Norwegian immigrants brought much of their cultural heritage with them to North America in the form of ideas, values and items of their material culture (Bjork, 1974; Lovoll, 1984). Lovoll explains that this was not a conscious effort, but rather unconscious because these ideas, values and articles were the substance of their lives in Norway. He further explains how their cultural uniqueness did not become evident until they discovered people with different cultural backgrounds in North America.

Palmer and Palmer discuss Alberta's diverse history, stating that "...part of this has been the interaction among numerous groups with widely diverse cultures...." (1985, p. x) The Norwegians were one of these groups. Ager states that the Norwegians' cultural identity was challenged as they strove to break land and make an economic and social position for themselves (1977a).

Bjork, Chrislock and Lovoll note that the Norwegian immigrants in the United States were compelled to let go of cultural pursuits during the time that they struggled to survive (1974; 1981; 1984). Bjork and Lovoll hold that such was the case in Canada as well. Chrislock observes that for the Norwegians in the United States, "...preoccupation with taming the Midwestern and Western wilderness had hampered cultural pursuits for more than half a century." (p. 15) In Canada, Palmer and Palmer note that "...[pioneering] in Alberta demanded tremendous adaptability, ingenuity, and endurance, and the majority of the people who came to the province at the turn of the century were able to meet these demands." (1985, p. xi) According to Key, "The process of colonization did not permit anything but the bare essentials for survival - food, clothing, [and] shelter." (1973, p. 154) Paulsen speaks of the lack of overt Danish ethnicity in Northern Alberta as being perhaps the result of many things: previous chance for assimilation while in the United States, need for full-time attempts for survival, lack of secular story-telling due to church prevention, the nature of the people being advanced, ready and able to adapt to new lifestyles, and the fact that many second generation immigrants had begun to marry outside of the ethnic group (1974). The literature shows that many of the same reasons also hold true regarding the Norwegians in Alberta (Bjork; Brunvand; Chrislock; Lovoll). The literature finds it important to note that when the first immigrant generation died off, the original, true link to the mother land was cut and gone (Bjork, 1974).

> ...the Norwegians responded to the changing times neither by cultural collapse and disorganization as did the former [Sioux Indians], nor by rigid self-imposed cultural isolation, as did the latter [Hutterites]. For the Norwegians the expanding social order brought new outlets for their activity: business entrepreneurship, commercial farming, politics, and the governmental bureaucracy. (Useem, p. 379)

After the land became workable, life became routine and there was time for leisure activities (Bjork, 1974; Brunvand, 1974; Lovoll, 1984). The cultural identity of the Norwegians, however, continued to be challenged (Ager, 1977a; 1977c). Ager and Lovoll state that there was among the immigrants and their families a progressive tendency, and a will to be moving forward, away from things that reminded them of the past life.

> From the time the child is old enough to understand, it learns that food which it does not like is old-country food, outmoded and ugly clothing is old-country style,...Two braids on the back or a patch on the pants are old-country style. To make use of hands, to patch, to darn, to exhibit ridiculous thrift are old-country ways. (Ager, 1977c, pp. 61-62)

Brunvand contends that "...Norwegians in Canada are easily assimilated and acculturated...." (1974, p. 52) He notes that there is a lack of Norwegian ethnic culture to be seen. "What folklorists tend to regard as some major genres of folk tradition - music, narratives, customs and festivals - are now to be found only as fragmentary survivals among the Norwegians of Alberta." (1974, p. 16) "One of the reasons for this sharp decline in overt ethnic activity was a sense that such activity might be incompatible with prevailing values and, hence, an impediment to acceptance within the larger society." (Chrislock, p. 139) On the other hand, however, Chrislock and Lovoll give opposing evidence of strong enduring ethnicity (1981; 1984):

> As Norwegians looked to each other for the familiar things such as language and customs, and as they developed organizations, so came evidences of ethnic activity. When they settled in clumps, whether in the United States or Canada, they favored the preservation of their heritage. (Lovoll, p. 12)

Chrislock notes that groups such as the Sons of Norway "...affirmed the right to nurture and cultivate ethnic traditions." (1981, p. 132) He explains that even though there was a need to be patriotic to their new country, "...such acceptance did not require the abandonment of Norwegian traditions and values." (p. 134) For many, he contends, holding onto their Norwegian heritage was unconscious and natural. Lovoll relates that many of the Norwegians who came to North America "...thought English would be a good break from the misery of Norway in the Nineteenth Century, but instead found they wanted to hold onto something familiar." (p. 13)

2.4.2 Possessions of the Immigrants

The Norwegian immigrants brought with them possessions of a rich cultural heritage (Bjork, 1974; Brunvand, 1974; Eskrick, 1971; Lovoll, 1984). "Nor did they come with empty hands: the machinery, livestock, cash, and other possessions that they took with them constituted a vast capital investment in Canada's future." (Bjork, p. 28) These other possessions included clothing and household textiles and equipment brought over in trunks (Eskrick; Lovoll). Brunvand states that the clothing was for the most part functional and for everyday use on the farms, observing that "...very few brought bunads [national costumes] from the old country, and most are a revival, not a survival." (p. 40)

Brunvand and Lovoll report that the Norwegian immigrants in Alberta experienced a different life in their new home (1974; 1984). Brunvand relates that the women merged old ways with new ones in the production and care of textiles and clothing. Evidences of similarities and differences from the old work are plainly visible in these activities. Semmingson relates that "...many of them [single women] wore fashionable dress of the western world and were concerned about their appearance in social circles." (1987, p. 140) She also speaks of the experiences of '*piger*', maids, in the new land.

> ...and here we do not stand outside while we wash clothes - we stand inside the kitchen. Nor do we beat them (with a paddle) like we did in Norway, but we have a kind of a board that we rub them on. (p. 140)

As the following references show, the spinning and knitting of wool was a common activity for the immigrants in Alberta: "Some of the women had brought spinning wheels with them, and they carded and spun the wool and knitted all the footwear for the entire family." (Eskrick, 1971, p. 25); "Spinning wheels were common." (Steen and Hendrickson, 1944, p. 68); "...[the women] would knit on long walks to the hay field. [Mrs. Flaaten] would knit German socks and underwear." (Steen & Hendrickson, p. 165); there was much "...knitting while walking, carding, and spinning..." (Brunvand, p. 29); there was "...more than enough of spinning and knitting." (Semmingson, p. 140)

Kerkhoven (1986) found evidence of embroidery, knitting, quilting, crocheting and spinning along with many other crafts in her survey of agricultural fairs in Alberta and Saskatchewan from 1879 to 1915. She found that embroidery showed up most frequently on the prize lists of the fairs, and that knitting (mainly stockings and mittens) were the next frequent. She refers to *hardangersaum* embroidery as appearing on prize lists after 1905.

Women's crafts here in Canada [included] - domestic things such as carding,

> spinning, knitting, embroidery, weaving, mending and patching. Embroidery and other fancy needlework is the best surviving craft. Pillowslips, tablecloths, runners, napkins, doilies, cloths and other things [were done] with stitching. The most popular and most traditional was the Hardangersøm, where you draw-thread. Some supplies were obtained from Norway, but some also in Edmonton and Dakota. (Brunvand, p. 44)

Norwegians in Canada states that the immigrant women often got together and formed groups in which to do their handwork (1967). One of these groups was the Ladies Aid Society, connected to the Lutheran Church, where the products made were sold at an annual sale of knitted and handmade goods.

Steen and Hendrickson explain that the Bardo Ladies Aid, which got together as a social group to bide the time, spent a day in March 1898 in the following way: "The morning was spent picking, carding and spinning wool, and the afternoon was used to knit socks, and mitts, piece quilts and sew practical articles like men's shirts and children's clothing." (1944, p. 112) They report that they also made items such as purses of coarse towelling, articles decorated with '*hardanger*' seams, and pillow shams. Clothes and other textile items were often made from old garments: "Homemade clothes were well taken care of, and it was common to make dresses over." (Steen & Handrickson, p. 74) They are careful to note that nothing was wasted, and that even rugs and quilts were made from old clothes.

> In addition, women worked hard making quilts, as it was called in English. This had to be explained. It was a bedspread that they stitched together of hundreds of patches of various colors. If they make more than they need, they can always sell them....Such quilts were also used as gifts for newcomers. (Semmingson, p. 140)

Kerkhoven (1986) found that there was not as urgent a need for homeweavers in western Canada as for settlers in the west of the United States.

She found no mention of this activity in pioneers' journals or memoires and found only a few examples of homeweavers in the prize lists of agricultural fairs in Alberta and Saskatchewan from 1879 to 1915.

Steen and Hendrickson state that "...many garments [were] made out of flour sacks - boy's trousers were dyed sacks." (p. 67) The flour sacks were either dyed or undyed and some had the label 'Strong Baker' stamped on the rear of the trousers. For making clothes, fabric was obtained from the local store or from the popular Eaton's Catalogue (Steen & Hendrickson). They explain that only a "...few [pioneer women] had sewing machines,..." and many had to share them with others. (p. 168) "Women made their own dresses from pretty print or gingham from stores. They also got dress goods, laces, ribbons, hats." (Steen & Hendrickson, p. 154) According to Steen and Hendrickson, ready-made clothing was also purchased from stores and from the Eaton's Catalogue. The quality of the store-bought goods was not as good as the home-made ones, but the price was good. Shoes were a problem and often had to be make-shift. "Most children went barefoot or had woolen stockings. Heavy coarse short socks were used to herd cattle." (Steen & Hendrickson, p. 75) Others, "...wore wool stockings inside of rabbit skins and gunny sacks." (Steen & Hendrickson, p. 77)

2.5 Valhalla Centre

Norwegian settlement in Alberta began in the 1890s, with most people coming to the central and south-central areas of the province (Brunvand, 1974; Lovoll, 1984). "Norwegian settlement in the Peace River area started later, beginning at Grande Prairie in 1908." (*Norwegians in Canada*, 1967, p. 15) Brunvand relates that "...in 1908, immigrants were resettling in the Grande Prairie and Peace River Country." (1974, p. 4) Steen and Hendrickson state that "...some went to Grande Prairie in 1907 and 1912, while others went to places such as

Sexsmith, Norden, Northfield, Happy Valley and Valhalla Centre." (1944, p. 196)

The first inhabitants of Valhalla Centre, Alberta, were a group of Norwegians who came north from Central Alberta to find new land for farming (Brunvand, 1974; *Norwegians in Canada*, 1967). They were looking for a place to expand to (Brunvand). Both *Norwegians in Canada* and *Pioneer Round-Up* give an account of these first settlers (1967; 1972):

> Four years after that...[in 1912]...a group of pioneers accompanied Rev. H. N. Rønning, a former Norwegian missionary in China, three hundred miles north from Edson, Alberta, by covered wagon. They founded a settlement called Valhalla, named for the legendary paradise of the Vikings. (*Norwegians in Canada*, p. 15)
>
> In the fall of 1912 he, [Rønning], his wife, his brother-in-law Olaf Horte, John. O. Johnson and Ole Forseth made the trip over the Edson Trail to the south Peace River Country to find a suitable location to settle. Rønnings [sic] and Olaf took land in what is now known as the Valhalla District. Gunhild took a homestead and three quarters of South African Script. (*Pioneer Round-Up*, p. 685)

Campbell (1975) relates that Rønning was born in Bø, Telemark, Norway, in 1862, and that he was an immigrant, evangelist and missionary. Rønning himself describes that he had immigrated from Norway to Minnesota in 1883, and from Minnesota had travelled to China as a missionary (1943). In 1908, upon the death of his first wife, Rønning returned from China, and came to Bardo, Alberta (Campbell, Rønning). Rønning "...wanted to find a large tract of good land on which Norwegian settlers could make a good living and where they would settle in such numbers as to support a Norwegian Lutheran Church." (Campbell, p. 240) Campbell notes that as an evangelist of the Norwegian Lutheran Church, Rønning wanted to create this settlement in order to keep the Norwegians together in their faith.

> As a modern fairy tale it must be considered that I, as an elderly missionary and minister, took my large family and travelled over four hundred miles through a vast wilderness to found a Norwegian settlement at Valhalla in the Peace River district, northwest of Edmonton, Alberta, Canada. (Rønning, 1943, p. 88)

Campbell, Rønning and *Pioneer Round-Up* all relate that in coming upon this new land, Rønning and his companions decided that it was what they were looking for (1975; 1943; 1972). "Rev. Rønning named the new land 'Valhalla' meaning 'home of the gods', [and] then the group returned to Tofield." (Campbell, p. 240) It was not until the following year, in 1913, that Rønning took his whole family and others up the same trail to this new home to stay (Campbell; Rønning; *Pioneer Round-Up*).

Pioneer Round-Up (1972) gives an historical account of the Valhalla Centre community. Between the time it was first inhabited by Rønning and his companions and 1920, the community was established with the building of a post office, school (Valhalla School No. 3130), sawmill, store and town hall. The Valhalla Co-operative Creamery was also built in this period. Between 1920 and 1925, more stores and businesses, restaurants and residences were added to the community. In the following two years, 1926 and 1927, the Frontier Lumber Company began production, the Valhalla Brass band started up, and the Valhalla Evangelical Lutheran Church was built and opened.

Valhalla Centre slowly continued to grow, stabilizing in the 1930s. During the 1940s, businesses began to close. Buildings were torn down or sold, and people began to move out. "Our hamlet had at least 100 residents in 1946. It now began to dwindle in size." (*Pioneer Round-Up*, p. 739) In 1946, the Valhalla Co-operative Creamery was taken over by others and not continued. This trend continued for some years until eventually the numbers stabilized at this smaller size.

Social groups were organized in the first years of the community's development. The Valhalla Lutheran Church Women's group was organized in 1915 at the home of Rev. and Mrs. H. N. Rønning. In 1920, the Valhalla Women's Institute, known as the "Busy Bees", was created. Both of these groups were involved in clothing and textile activities as well as many other fund-raising activities. A third group, the Martha-Mary Ladies' Aid of Valhalla Centre, was added to the others in 1933. It was organized and had its first meeting on November 15, 1933 at the home of Mrs. H. Beck. The group met every three weeks and raised funds through the sale of handwork and baking. "Now [1957] an Annual Fall sale of handicrafts and baking brings in a generous income which is given to the church and [used for] other things." (*Pioneer Round-Up*, p. 740) These groups are evidence that there was within the community of Valhalla Centre a concern with social activities and with the production of crafts - textile and otherwise.

2.6 Norwegian Clothing and Textiles

This part of the literature review discusses Norwegian clothing and textile characteristics in general. Norwegian clothing and textiles in Canada, and specifically Alberta, are dealt with in the section on Norwegian immigration under **Possessions of the Immigrants** (see chapter 2.4.2, page 44).

The clothing and textiles referred to in this research are those which, in their technique, patterns, colors, and/or design, are Norwegian. In many ways these elements, taken alone, are indistinguishable from others throughout the world. It is in the way they are combined that they speak of Norway. The Norwegian clothing and textiles in this research include any textile item that is worn or used in the home by Norwegians, as well as the accessories that accompany these textiles. Included in this list are footwear, headwear, outerwear, clothing accessories, bedding, floor coverings, household accessories (e.g., table covers), art objects (e.g., tapestries), etc. These demarcations of clothing and textiles categories are made following Chenhall (*Nomenclature for museum cataloguing*, 1978).

There is little in the literature that deals solely with the clothing and textiles of Norway. Information is found mainly in larger works dedicated to Norway's general art and culture. Hopstock, Stewart and Hauglid cover in varying degrees of detail the characteristics and history of weaving, embroidery, knitting and costumes of the country (1924; 1953; 1967). Sjøvold focuses specifically on tapestry weaving (1976), while Grimstvedt (1984a; 1984b), Karlberg (1984a; 1984b), Lyons (1984) and Noss (1985; 1987) discuss folk dress and its modern adaptations. Textiles in Norway are evident from the 'Stone Age', 'Bronze Age', 'Iron Age' and 'Viking Age' (Hauglid). Identifying characteristics which are specific to Norwegian textiles, he reports that they have a rich tradition of pattern, high quality of material and technique, and intense and bright color. The Norwegian sure sense of taste and clear feeling for form are reported by Hopstock.

Stewart states that there was a 'Romantic' period in Norway at the end of the eighteenth century during which folk costumes and crafts were preserved and techniques were taught (1953). In all of this there was a deep national pride.

The textile techniques commonly used in Norway include various types of weaving, embroidery and knitting (Hauglid, 1967; Hopstock, 1924; Stewart, 1953; Sjøvold, 1976). They are divided into these categories in the following review.

2.6.1 Weaving

The literature covers the following forms of Norwegian weaving: double weave hangings (*flensvevnad*), picture weaves (tapestries), square weaves (*åklær*), shuttle weaves (loom brocades) and the shag or pile rugs (*ryer*) (Hauglid, 1967; Hopstock, 1924; Sjøvold, 1976; Stewart, 1953). According to Hauglid and Stewart, there was a great increase in weaving in the seventeenth century, stemming from increased contact with other countries and the development of urban communities. Popular motifs were used, but their treatment was simple and two-dimensional, concentrating on high color contrast and quality. There was a combination of traditional work and ornamentation which was much loved in the seventeenth century. All the elements in the weaving were intentional, and textile and motif worked together (Hopstock, 1924). Basic carding, spinning and weaving were early activities, but the emergence of the spinning wheel and the horizontal loom at this time increased productivity even more (Stewart). Hauglid also reports that the weaving designs and characteristics were different throughout Norway and that it is impossible to divide the country into specific areas of weaving style. According to Hauglid, "...some of the early *åklær*, *ryer* and tapestries are still found in old houses and antique shops." (p. 108)

Hauglid states that since the fifth century, *flensvevnad*, or double weave hangings, brought warmth and color to the walls of many homes and social places. Motifs on the hangings were closely related to both sacred and secular life events. These common motifs, which were symbolic on many early textiles, later lost their symbolic meaning and were enjoyed primarily for their color and patterned surface (Hauglid).

Hopstock and Sjøvold state that the Norwegian picture weavings, or tapestries, began early in Norwegian history as horizontal wall hangings (1924; 1976). Sjøvold reports that long tapestry friezes were common in the 'Middle Ages' and that upright ones developed later.

The first evidence of tapestries is from the Oseberg ship of the ninth century (Hauglid, Hopstock, Sjøvold, Stewart). The patterns on the Oseberg tapestry included shapes of humans, animals, foliage and fruit treated in a two-dimensional, geometric manner (Stewart). The Baldishol tapestry, found in the late nineteenth century, uses an iconography and weaving technique of a different tradition (Hauglid, 1967; Hopstock, 1924; Sjøvold, 1976; Stewart, 1953). The designs are less geometric, and flow in a curvilinear fashion.

Sjøvold states that "...there is no evidence that tapestry weaving became so common in medieval Norway as to create a tradition." (1976, p. 17) Sjøvold, Hauglid and Stewart, however, report a great increase in tapestry weaving in the seventeenth century (1976; 1967; 1953). At that time, tapestries were often commissioned for chair and cushion covers. Hopstock relates that in the renaissance period, from the 1300s to the 1700s, Norwegian weavers had primitive equipment and limited skill, and consequently used a flat technique and abstracted forms to produce an ornamental appeal in their work (1924). He stresses that Norwegian weavers at this time were more interested in the decorative quality and effect of their work than in its correctness. Hauglid states that when the rest of Europe was using perspective and illumination to create realistic appearances, the Norwegians were working with a two-dimensional, flat image with bold colors, outlined in black and with a hatching technique to join the shapes. He reports that there was at that time "...a change from naturalistic to stylized, characteristic to decorative, representative to abstract." (1967, p. 127) The characteristic bold and deep colors survived through the centuries (Stewart).

Common design motifs on early Norwegian tapestries included stylized flowers, foliage and fruit, human and animal figures, biblical and celestial characters, and geometric designs such as knots, crosses, and stars (Hauglid, 1967; Stewart, 1953). According to Hauglid, early motifs were the knot, rose, cross, angelheads, plants, trees, and human figures at various life stages. As with the double weave hangings, *flensvevnad*, these motifs were first appreciated for their symbolic meaning, but were later appreciated only for their decorative quality (Hauglid). Stewart observes that in picture weaving, "...the Norwegians translated stories into thread with motifs of heraldry, the orient and imaginary animals. Christian motifs were also used." (p. 158) The contact with Brussels and other countries introduced motifs such as the pomegranate to Norway (Stewart). The motifs used in the 'Middle Ages' were rectilinar, almost becoming stick animals (Stewart). Tapestries in Norway often had borders with patterns such as the eight-petal roses within a stylized zigzag scroll (Stewart).

One of the common decorative motifs used on small tapestries is the classical palmette or pomegranate motif, known as *skybragd*, or cloudwork (Hauglid, 1967; Sjøvold, 1976; Stewart, 1953). It originated in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in Gudbrandsdal and northern Norway. Hauglid states that these tapestries are beautiful in color; Stewart describes them as having changing blues and reds in the repeat motif.

In the tapestries, the warp is linen and the weft is wool. Most of the colors were natural dyes from vegetable matter. Red and yellow dyes came from cork moss; blue dyes from vied. Yellow, brown and blue were the first dyes used, while red became dominant later (Hauglid, Stewart).

Stewart identifies the basic characteristics of the *åklær*, or square weaves (1953). They were developed in the seventeenth century for household use and continued to be made steadily from 1650 to 1780 (Hopstock, 1924). These weavings are woven on a horizontal loom. They take less time and skill than other tapestries. Major centres for this activity were the areas of Sogne and Hardanger (Hopstock, Stewart). There are a great variety of these square weavings, and they often appear as a checkerboard (Hauglid, Hopstock, Stewart). The early *åklær* incorporated purple-red, brown, gold and white colored thread, with blue and green being added in the later period and into the nineteenth century. Major centres for this activity were the areas of Sogne and Hardanger (Hopstock, Stewart). Hopstock states that even though these items were woven in the seventeenth century, they were based on medieval design principles and had a 'Gothic' effect.

Most of the *åklær* had designs which were geometric. The pieces were often framed with patterns. These included the square, rectangle, octagon, diamond, knot, rose and eight-petal rose (Stewart, 1953). This motif is also known as the eight-pointed star. For consistency, it will be referred to as the eight-petal rose throughout the research, although the reader should be aware that it may go by either name. Hopstock notes the geometric patterns of squares, stripes, margins and stars (1924). According to Stewart and Hopstock, *åklær* were often framed with a border. These designs, based on the square, were the same on both sides, even though the colors were reversed. The colors of most of them are those of the old heraldic rule, with red, blue, black, dark brown and red-violet on yellow or white grounds.

Hauglid and Hopstock discuss the continuance of the 'rose rugs' or 'rose carpets', geometrically patterned *åklær* originating in the seventeenth century (1967; 1924). Hauglid states that these were also designed and woven according to the old heraldic rules using colors of rich red, white, gold or black. The distinguishing design feature of the 'rose carpet' was the clear, basic eight-petal rose repeated over the carpet. From this rose pattern, other rose and star patterns evolved, varying with the region producing them (Hauglid).

Stewart categorizes the *bragd*, or shuttle weaves, together as loom brocades and includes four types - *skilbragd*, *sjonbragd*, *tavlebragd* and *krokbragd* (1953). She observes that they are usually woven in colors of black, red, yellow, green and white and that each of the four types have characteristic design motifs. The *skilbragd* are much like plaid coverlets. The *sjonbragd* incorporate some human figures, while the *tavlebragd* and *krokbragd* have more striped and geometric patterns. Stewart gives an example of a *krokbragd* which is "...decorated in a "rosepath", or zigzag, design called a Telemark weave." (p. 189) These shuttle weaves, which come from the south coast and northern part of Norway, are made for household use and belts (Stewart).

Hauglid, Hopstock and Stewart describe the *ryer*, the shag or pile rugs, that were woven and used for bedspreads or for use as equipment while fishing (1967;

1924; 1953). According to Hopstock, the rugs had simple geometric designs of stripes, criss-crosses and simple flowers. Hauglid specifies that the common rugs made for everyday use usually had a striped "rosepath", or zigzag design, and were sometimes made with borders. He also states that early rugs were knotted so that the pile would not come out, and the knots hidden from sight between the layers. The back side of these rugs, the patterned side, was often used as the right, or uppermost and visible, side (Stewart).

Stewart mentions that a substantial amount of braid and tape weaving is basic to all areas of Norway, producing a variety of articles such as bands, belts and ties (1953). Executed by either card weaving or overshot weaving, they are made in a variety of common colors and have zigzag, square and cross designs.

2.6.2 Embroidery

Embroidery in Norway came about as a form of decorative needlework due to an increase in leisure time and a desire to brighten otherwise dull homes (Stewart, 1953). Stewart notes that "...embroidery was used on a variety of clothing and textile objects such as head coverings, belts, purses, mitts, collars and household items." (p. 189) There are two basic types of embroidery - *rosesaum*, or free embroidery, which is a wool embroidery of the Rococo or scroll style, and geometric embroidery, which is worked on the fabric by counting threads. Categorized under *rosesaum* are *krullesaum* and *krotesaum* which vary in color and motif form. Included in the geometric embroidery are cross-stitch, Holbein stitch, blackwork (*dragsaum* and *smettesaum*), and whitework. The whitework includes single drawn work, double drawn work, and cutwork such as *Hardangersaum*.

Stewart acknowledges that many of the embroidery techniques used in Norway were not specific to Norway or only done there, but that the combination of pattern and color gave them their Norwegian character. As Stewart notes, the years from 1820 to 1845 in Norway were rich in embroidery (1953). After 1845, however, with the advancement of fashion and the Industrial Revolution, this work decreased. Stewart points out that much skill and time was needed to produce high quality free embroidery, but that relatively little skill was needed to count the threads in the geometric embroidery. Because of this, more free embroidery was done when women had time to develop skill in it, and that with less time available they turned to the geometric work (Stewart). If not for the romantic era at the end of the nineteenth century, all of this hand work would have disappeared (Stewart).

Stewart explains that the *rosesaum* work was heavy wool embroidery often done in a satin stitch in red on a black fabric, but that other subdued-colored thread worked on a variety of colored fabrics could be found. In her list of design motifs for *rosesaum*, Stewart includes bold curving stems, flaming flowers, rythmic flowing lines, curling vines, teardrops and jagged lines.

Stewart covers the many techniques, styles and design motifs of the geometric embroidery (1953). She states that the work was usually done on linen or cotton, and that it was executed in black, white, red, blue or green, depending on the technique and style. The colored work included counted cross-stitch and Holbein work in patterns of zigzag, petals, swastika, double-cross, eight-petal rose, diamond, knot, lily and cleaved square. The blackwork incorporated some of these same design motifs. The single and double drawn whitework included the square, cross, "X", swastika, rose and human and animal figures.

The Norwegian cutwork, of which *Hardangersaum* is most noted, is counted geometric embroidery where certain threads are cut, pulled out of the weave, and then bound (Hauglid, 1967; Hopstock, 1924; Kerkhoven, 1986; Stewart, 1953). Stewart draws the origins of *Hardangersaum* from the Italian reticella work and the Dutch embroideries of the 1700s. In the Hardanger region or Norway, this work was done with white thread on white fabric, and used on the blouse collar and cuffs and on the apron of the folk dress. The *Hardangersaum* has a strong diagonal effect and incorporates the square, cross, stepped square, spokes, eight-petal rose and picot as design motifs.

2.6.3 Knitting

Knitting began in early medieval times in Norway (Hauglid, 1967; Stewart, 1953). Wool and animal hair were used to knit mittens and the feet of stockings (the leg portions were woven at that time). These mittens, stockings and vests were usually of a single color and decorated with the colored floral embroidery of *rosesaum* (Stewart).

Both Hauglid and Stewart report that in the 1830s, two-colored knitted designs became popular, and vests and jackets (*trøyer*) were replaced by present day sweaters (*husekufter*). Stewart records that the popular Norwegian ski sweater was a new development in knitting. "About the same time pattern-knit sweaters, styled like the jackets and vests they replaced, and knit caps came on the scene." (1953, p. 200) According to Stewart, the pattern of the sweater depended on the area in which it was made. She states that the use of two-color knitting was used all over Norway, but was most characteristic in two areas - Fana (near Bergen), and Selbu (in Trøndelag). These places developed a popular style of patterned sweaters, stockings and mitts. Stewart notes that sweaters from Fana had a background of alternating dots with large eight-petal roses in a contrasting band across the shoulders. Other sweaters had an all-over design in contrasting colors and often had "...decorative geometric bands [that] bordered the neck opening and top of the sleeve." (p. 200)

According to Hauglid and Stewart, the knit stockings originally had woven legs and knitted feet. "Around 1830 the old handwoven hose with knitted feet were replaced by all-knitted stockings." (Stewart, p. 200) The knit stockings were initially made in black or white, but were later colored. The patterns on the stockings varied. Some had double or triple cable designs which gave striped or squared effects. Others had eight-petal rose motifs on the legs and plain, striped, checkerboard or unique vine, name or date patterns on the top band.

The mitts from these areas, particularly Selbu, have characteristic diamonds, dots, triangles or squares on the palms and figures of humans, reindeer or eight-petal roses on the back (Hauglid, 1967; Stewart, 1953).

2.6.4 Costumes

Due to modern communication, much of the contemporary clothing in Norway is indistinguishable from the rest of the world. For special occasions, however, Norwegians bring out their best festive wear, costumes which are reminiscent of the folk dress of their ancestors. These special regional or folk costumes are called in Norwegian *bunader* and are often different for each of the districts in Norway. According to Lyons, "...the bunads have their origins in the clothing worn by the folk people of Norway (those living in rural communities prior to the Industrial Revolution)...and that they...were new - the result of a conscious effort to recreate and standardize the old folk dress styles." (1984, p. 84) Again, he recognizes that the *bunader* are not the same as the traditional clothes. "What was once peasant costume has now been revived into a festive garment, and may not even be from the same place." (1984, p. 84) Brunvand observes that the "...folk bunads are a revival, not a survival...." (1974, p. 40)

There has been much interest in and study of these costumes, which are made up of a number of garment pieces and accessories. The modern costumes are a combination of weaving, embroidery and knitting techniques, brought together in articles of various styles and designs (Hopstock, 1924; Karlberg, 1984a; Lyons, 1984; Noss, 1987; Stewart, 1953). Noss explains that the current festive dress developed from the folk or rural dress, and that the reemergence and redevelopment of the costumes as the *bunader*, both in Norway and in North America, does not always result in strict or direct copies. She observes that although there is an attempt to reproduce historical folk dress as closely as possible, there is often the free combination of styles and patterns. Stewart states that the designs for these revival costumes are numerous and varied, and often combine details from a variety of sources (1953). Hopstock observes that some of the rural costumes had been adapted from town or European styling, and that these vestigial components were often reused in the twentieth century *bunader* (1924). Influences from Europe depended on the proximity of the area to European centres.

Hopstock and Stewart devote chapters to the history of the costumes and their transformation into the festive dress of the present century (1967; 1953). Hopstock describes the rural dress of the Renaissance period as "...heavy, bulky, and often black except for touches of white linen on men's and women's collars. The women had voluminous bell-shaped skirts which were later translated into *bunad* skirts." (1924, p. 68) Later, from 1650 to 1780, separations in dress between the town and country occurred, as well as a development of style and specific clothing to suit each occasion (Hopstock). Stewart observes that in the 1780s, a new picturesque national style emerged with more color, design and embroidery. Hopstock relates that in the following century, until 1850s, there was a development in costume and weaving designs known as "farm art", creating items of visual beauty. He reports that by the 1870s, most of the rural Norwegians were wearing fashionable European dress which they reworked to fit the Norwegian country life. This clothing was for the most part sensible and beautiful.

By 1850, all areas in Norway had their own distinct styles (Stewart). Karlberg, Noss and Stewart explain that all districts in Norway varied in their costume styling and design because of their isolation from each other and from outside, and that large areas even showed variations within their own territory

(1984a; 1987; 1953). The costumes often varied for occasion and individual taste, and were constantly changing. According to Lyons, "...industrialism and improved means of communication brought an end to the folk dress style." (1984, p. 84)

Stewart states that by the end of the nineteenth century, most Norwegian costume was left for the country; everyone else had city styles. Lyons states that it was later, in the romantic period of the late nineteenth century with its high national feeling that the *bunad* was created. The literature agrees that it was not until this romantic period that interest in the regional rural dress and "farm art" was revived. At this time, many Norwegians made and acquired authentic copies of older costumes as festive wear (Lyons, 1984). Each area of Norway today takes a different attitude toward the retention of their original rural dress. Some consider that very specific details should be retained, while others hold that only the general characteristics, if those, need be retained as they develop their new national folk costume.

The costume which developed from the rural dress consisted of the following major parts: shirt and bodice, jacket, skirt, apron, stockings, shoes, headgear (a cap or kerchief) and accessories, usually silver jewellery (Stewart, 1953; Grimstvedt, 1984a; Grimstvedt, 1984b). In addition, a fabric purse often hung at the waist. Linen was used for the shirts and undergarments of the costume, and wool was used for the other parts (Stewart). Aprons were added to the costume as a Renaissance feature (Stewart).

Grimstvedt states that the costume had a "...bodice and skirt in dark woolen fabric, embroidered with woolen yarn in many colors, a white shirt and *søljer* (silver brooches)." (1984a, p. 222) A jacket was also an important part of the costume. He further comments on the new colorful embroidery styles that emerged and were used on many of the national festive costumes. These are reminiscent of the color and decorative design details of the eighteenth century embroidery (Stewart, 1953). Common parts of the revived costume were the black knit stockings and black shoes with silver buckles (Grimstvedt; Karlberg; Stewart). Grimstvedt and Stewart observe that a variety of striped and plaid shawls were used. Similarly, Karlberg notes that women often wore a shawl or padded cape. *Sølje*r, silver brooches, were often worn at the neck, and other silver jewellery, chains, buttons and necklaces, were common (Stewart).

According to Hopstock and Stewart, Norwegian revival costumes of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries follow the general format described above, with the exception of the distinct Empire style found in Telemark, Hallingdal and Setesdal. The Setesdal area costumes have knee-length skirts. In all of these areas, both men's and women's costumes have the high empire waists on trousers and skirts respectively, with very short bolero jackets.

Karlberg reports that "...a great number of bunads were prepared in the years from 1910 to 1950." (1984a, p. 196) As Stewart notes, very few of these came to North America with the Norwegian immigrants, and those who have them now have acquired them in later years. The everyday clothing that the immigrants brought over was used until it wore out so that little, if any, remains.

3. Methodology

The following sources were used in this research: (a) oral histories; (b) written and visual documentary material; (c) surviving artifacts. Data obtained from these sources was compiled and recorded on data sheets. The recorded data was processed both manually and by computer to produce the findings and analysis of the clothing and textile artifacts used by the Norwegians in Valhalla Centre, Alberta.

3.1 Oral Histories

Audio-taped oral histories were conducted in order to collect personal records of Norwegian ethnic clothing and textiles and related activities in Valhalla Centre, Alberta. The oral histories were conducted on a one-to-one basis and lasted from 30 minutes to two hours. The participants were given the choice of having the interview conducted in either English or Norwegian.

3.1.1 Pilot Study

An oral history pilot study was conducted using several Norwegian individuals in the Edmonton area in order to develop a set of questions most appropriate for this study. Using information from these oral histories, as well as suggestions from other studies employing the oral history method, a list of questions was developed to use as a guideline while conducting the oral history interviews in this study (see Appendix D for question list).

3.1.2 Sample Selection and Interviewing Procedure

The population consisted of the 84 names listed under Valhalla Centre in the telephone directory and located through the Valhalla Lutheran Church and other contact individuals. Letters of introduction were sent to each of the names listed (see Appendix E). Those residents not listed in the telephone directory were located with the help of the Valhalla Lutheran Church, and were sent the same letter of introduction. The letters of introduction specified the criteria which the individuals must meet to qualify for the study. The criteria were as follows:

(a) The individuals were of Norwegian ethnic background (the individuals identify themselves as Norwegian or being of Norwegian heritage).

(b) The individuals were 18 years of age or older.

(c) The individuals were willing to participate in the study.

All individuals in each household meeting these criteria were invited to participate in the research, as long as their personal history did not duplicate another individual's in the household. Only one individual from each family experience was chosen. The researcher and the individuals involved determined who seemed to have the most relevant information.

The letters informed the individuals that the interviews would be audio-taped, but that specific personal information given would not be used in the results and discussion of the research. The individuals were told that the interviews would be approximately two hours long, could be conducted in either English or Norwegian, and could be withdrawn from at any time. Enclosed with the letter was a response form which the qualifying and willing individuals were asked to fill out and return (see Appendix F).

It was established at the outset that if insufficient response was received, that is, there was no response, only one aspect of the research would be covered (i.e. only artifacts located to be documented), or if fewer than five (5) responses were received, a second letter would be sent out. It was later decided by the researcher, however, after receiving only three (3) positive responses out of 23 replies, that the researcher would benefit from travelling to Valhalla Centre and contacting the individuals directly. This resulted in 39 positive responses.

Once the response forms had been collected and participants secured, the participants were contacted personally to explain the conditions of the interview once more and to give them a list of topics that would be covered in the oral history (see Appendix G). Interview dates and times were set up on a day-to-day basis. At the time of the interview, the subjects were asked to sign a tape release form (see Appendix H).

The oral histories themselves were conducted according to the procedures developed in the study (e.g., one-to-one, in English or Norwegian) and using the oral history guideline questions (see Appendix D). Following the interviews, the subjects were personally thanked for their participation, and were usually joined for tea or juice (this Norwegian researcher does not drink coffee - all were astounded!), and a selection of Norwegian baked delicacies, of which *lefse* (especially *Numedal lefse*), *vinetarte*, *krumkake* and *flatbrød* were favorites.

Letters of thanks were sent to all of the subjects at the conclusion of the material collection period (see Appendix I). Copies of the oral history tapes and finder's guides are stored in the University of Alberta Historic Costume and Textile Study Collection. Lists of the oral history participants and artifact inventory participants are found in Appendices J and K. A map showing the physical locations of the research participants in the Valhalla Centre area is found in Appendix L.

3.2 Documentation of Written and Visual Documentary Material

In this portion of the methodology, written and visual documentary material from the following locations was systematically investigated:

1. Glenbow Archives, Calgary, Alberta
2. Provincial Archives of Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta
3. Peace River Centennial Museum, Peace River, Alberta
4. Grande Prairie Pioneer Museum, Grande Prairie, Alberta
5. South Peace Centennial Museum, Beaverlodge, Alberta
6. Lutheran Church Archives, Camrose, Alberta
7. Valhalla Centre Lutheran Church
8. Individuals in Valhalla Centre

These collections were examined for information describing the Norwegian clothing and textiles produced and used by the Norwegian immigrants in Valhalla Centre, as well as the occurrence of textile-related activities.

The following written and visual sources were examined:

1. Community and family histories
2. Personal diaries and letters
3. Magazine articles
4. Local newspapers
5. Company log books
6. Church documents (anniversary booklets, meeting minutes)
7. Travel records
8. Photographs, paintings and other visuals

3.3 Artifact Documentation

In this portion of the methodology, Norwegian clothing and textile artifacts in the community of Valhalla Centre, Alberta, were located, documented and analyzed to determine their abundance and nature. The artifacts were located through those who volunteered to be interviewed in oral histories, through other participants in the research and through advertising in the church and local newspapers. Each artifact was photographed and documented for the inventory, but was left in the possession of the owner.

3.3.1 Procedure Development

The procedure used in this research was developed by the researcher based on those material culture study models in the literature review (see chapter 2.2) and the system used in the University of Alberta Historic Costume and Textile Study Collection. It was developed to pertain specifically to clothing and textile artifacts, and was adapted to study immigrant ethnic groups.

A pilot study was performed on 10 various clothing and textile artifacts which were thought to be similar in style and characteristics to those which might be found in Valhalla Centre. From this study, changes and additions were made to the procedure, and a final version drafted.

The artifacts located for the research were documented according to the researcher's procedure and a catalogued inventory of the artifacts was kept for future reference for other researchers in the area of material culture and clothing and textile artifact documentation.

3.4 Coding and Recording of Data

Based on the oral history interviews, written and visual documentary research and artifact documentation, data were recorded and compiled according to coding sheets found in Appendix M. Qualitative data not meeting the criteria for the coding sheets were recorded separately for manual analysis.

The data coding sheets were developed to incorporate information collected from the oral histories, written and visual documentary material and artifacts. For the oral histories, questions were produced from the oral history used by Smith (1986) and from those used in the pilot study conducted by the researcher. A list of items which could be analyzed quantitatively was taken from this. A second list of items contained information to be obtained from the written and visual documentary sources. This list was produced using Schweger's archival data coding sheets (1983) and the researcher's pilot study. For the documentation of the artifacts, the following models and procedures were referred to: Fleming's model for artifact studies (see Figure 1, chapter 2.2, p. 27); Prown's methodology for material culture study (see Figure 2, chapter 2.2, p. 27); Analysis method for artifacts developed by Finley and his fellow students (see Figure 3, chapter 2.2, p. 29); Pearce's proposed model for artifact studies (see Figure 4, chapter 2.2, p. 30); Sturtevant's procedures for analyzing and cataloguing artifacts (1977); the cataloguing procedure used by the University of Alberta Historic Costume and Textile Study Collection which is based on the Canadian Heritage Information Network (CHIN)(*Procedures Manual*, HCTSC, 1987). Chenhall's (1978) artifact classification system was used in the categorization of the artifacts (see Appendix A). From these and the pilot study, the researcher produced a list of relevant traits which could be recorded from the examination of the artifacts.

These three lists were subsequently consolidated into one master list and tested in a pilot study using four items from each category source to ensure that there was no overlapping and that nothing crucial to the research was omitted. Revisions were made and the final master data coding sheets for the research were produced (see Appendix M).

For each of the records on the master data coding sheets, numbered responses were provided so that the computerized Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSSx) could be utilized.

3.5 Analysis of Data

The analysis of the data was performed to address each of the objectives in the research. Quantitative data were analyzed using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSSx) computer program, generating frequency distribution tables and cross-tabulation charts of various artifact characteristics. Qualitative data were analyzed manually and compiled with the computer analyzed data. Relevant results of the analyses appear in the findings and discussion of the thesis.

Analysis of the data provided the following information:

1. The number and types of Norwegian ethnic clothing and textile artifacts produced and used in Valhalla Centre, Alberta.
    a. The number and types of Norwegian ethnic clothing and textile artifacts extant in Valhalla Centre, Alberta, and available for inventory and use in further research.
2. The number and types of Norwegian ethnic clothing- and textile-related techniques used and activities done in Valhalla Centre, Alberta.
3. The number and types of non-textile-related Norwegian ethnic activities participated in in Valhalla Centre, Alberta.
4. The number and types of references to Norwegian ethnic clothing and textile artifacts found in Valhalla Centre, Alberta.

4. Findings and Discussion

The findings and discussion of this research address all of the research objectives as well as their corresponding problem statements. Objectives one to four address the first problem statement, identifying evidence of Norwegian ethnic clothing and textiles that have been retained in Valhalla Centre. Objective five relates directly to the second problem statement, while objective seven addresses the third. This chapter also includes a general discussion of the trends found in the research in Valhalla Centre.

Of the 84 introductory letters sent to the residents of Valhalla Centre, 23 response forms were returned. Four of these responses met the criteria for the research. Sixteen responding individuals did not meet the ethnic requirements for the research (i.e., were not Norwegian), while three were not interested in participating. Due to the low response rate, the researcher decided to contact individuals in Valhalla Centre directly instead of distributing a second letter. This procedure brought the total of positive responses to 39 and this final group was used as the participant sample for the study. More Valhalla Centre residents responded positively when the researcher made the telephone call while staying with someone in the area (the researcher stayed with the Lutheran church minister and his family). The positive reaction from the direct telephone contact was possibly due to the fact that most individuals were more comfortable if they could see or talk to the person doing the research, or if they were recommended and introduced to the researcher through family or friends. Many residents had previously not replied to the introductory letter because they were not familiar with the project or the researcher.

4.1 Objective One

To gather oral histories from the community of Valhalla Centre, Alberta.

Of the 39 individuals in the study, 23 were interviewed for the oral histories. The interviews were conducted between January 11 and February 24, 1988. Each interview lasted from 30 minutes to 2 hours. With the choice of having the interview conducted in either English or Norwegian, all participants chose English. It could not be determined whether this was because they felt more comfortable conversing in the English language as they suggested, or because they felt more comfortable speaking in the researcher's native tongue.

The oral histories were audio-taped and later reviewed in order to record references to Norwegian clothing and textiles in the Valhalla Centre community. Information from the tapes was then recorded onto the master data coding file and the tapes and finder's guides stored in the Historic Costume and Textile Study Collection at the University of Alberta. A complete listing of the oral history participants can be found in Appendix J. References to the oral histories follow the specific information in parentheses (i.e., (OH #001)).

The oral histories revealed two major categories of textile artifacts: (1) clothing, including the folk costumes (*bunader*), knitted sweaters, mittens and stockings and silver jewellery (*sølјer*), and (2) household textiles, including items made from embroidery kits. The number and types of references to clothing items in the oral histories are found in Table 4.1, while the number and types of references to household textiles are found in Table 4.2. Smaller categories of referenced artifacts included tools and equipment and miscellaneous clothing and textiles and accessories. Norwegian textile activities and non-textile-related activities were also mentioned and recorded.

Table 4.1 References to Clothing Artifacts in Oral Histories

Reference to Artifacts	Folk Costumes	Søljer	Sweaters	Mittens	Stockings
None remembered	4	2	-	-	-
Few remembered	3	3	-	-	-
Some remembered	6	2	5	6	-
Many remembered	2	-	-	-	-
Brought from Norway	8	3	2	2	1
Sent early from Norway	-	2	-	3	3
Sent later from Norway	-	8	12	2	-
Acquired in Norway	1	6	2	-	-
None Worn in Valhalla Centre	2	4	-	-	-
Worn often in Valhalla Centre	-	2	-	-	-
None owned	2	6	-	-	-
Handed down	1	7	-	-	-
Currently produced	-	-	2	1	-
TOTAL REFERENCES	29	45	23	14	4

Note. A dash is used where no references to artifacts were recorded.

4.1.1 Clothing

4.1.1.1 Folk Costumes

Of the 23 interviewees, six (26%) remembered folk costumes being worn in the community for special functions, particularly in the early years (OH #003, 004, 006, 013, 019, 021). Four (17%) did not remember any costumes being worn at all (OH #012, 017, 020, 023), while one (4%) remembered the odd *bunad* at special occasions (OH #015). Specific people were remembered wearing Norwegian costumes (OH #016, 019). Oral history participants #002 and #014 mentioned that although their families did not have any '*nasjonal drakter*', they remembered a few other people wearing folk costumes.

Six (26%) interviewees referred to one woman from the Setesdal area in Norway who wore her *drakt* when immigrating to Canada in 1928 (OH #003, 013, 014, 016, 018, 022)(see Appendix N8, N9). She was the only woman in Valhalla Centre with a folk costume from this area. She had woven the skirt of the costume while her aunt had done most of the sewing and hand-embroidery. Although she had used the costume everyday in Norway, she wore it only on special occasions in Valhalla Centre, such as the 17th of May celebration (OH #003)(see chapter 4.1.6, p. 82). It was last worn in 1987 to display to the Valhalla Centre kindergarten class.

Women were remembered wearing folk costumes from various districts in Norway, each costume having a distinct style according to the area (OH #003, 004, 012, 015). Costumes were remembered from the Setesdal, Telemark, Nordlands and Hardanger districts, with the most remembered from the Hardanger district (OH #014, 016)(see Appendix N1, N8, N9, N10, N11). A description of costumes located for the artifact inventory is included in chapter 4.3.1, p. 87.

One interviewee noted that his wife brought her costume to Valhalla Centre, but gave it to her daughter who now lives in Grande Prairie (OH #009). Interviewee #006 remembered seeing photographs of costumes, however most of the photographs were taken in Norway. Oral history interviewee #020 brought a child's costume to Valhalla Centre from Norway in later years for her granddaughter.

No men's folk costumes were mentioned in the oral histories. One man referred to a pair of knickers that he wore with patterned stockings (OH #021). Both knickers and stockings were from Norway, and when one pair of knickers wore out, he returned to Norway to get another pair.

One interviewee noted that special blouses worn as part of the folk costumes were sent from Norway after the immigrants had arrived in Valhalla Centre (OH #004). Some of the blouses were decorated with *hardangersaum* embroidery, such as those belonging to Mrs. Evjen and Mrs. Velve (OH #019). As well, another oral history interviewee recalled making a Norwegian costume for her daughter to wear at an ice carnival. She made it "out of her head" using another woman's (Mrs. Velve's) costume as inspiration (OH #006).

4.1.1.2 Sølje

When asked about the appearance and use of the silver brooches, *sølje*, two (9%) respondents recalled seeing them worn in Valhalla Centre and having them in their family in the early years (before World War II)(OH #007, 009). Seven (30%) said that the brooches they owned were handed down to them from their parents and grandparents (see OH #006, 014, 015, 016, 019, 020, 021). Jewellery belonging to the mother of oral history participant #021 was split throughout the family when she passed away. Two (9%) participants mentioned that some *sølje* were received from Norway in the early years (OH #007, 014), while six (26%) people noted that they never had any in the early years but owned some now that came as gifts or purchases from Norway since 1950 (OH #005, 011, 013, 020, 022, 023). Jewellery once owned by the wife of oral history participant #010 was returned to Norway after she passed away. One participant did not own much Norwegian jewellery, but owned enough to display. She currently wore them often "just to show she's Norwegian" (OH #003). Oral history participant #006 did not currently wear the brooches she owned.

4.1.1.3 Knitted Items - Sweaters

Five (22%) interviewees noted that they saw Norwegian patterned sweaters in the Valhalla Centre area (OH #001, 006, 018, 021, 023). Two (9%) remembered having brought these sweaters from Norway when they came to North America (OH #006, 009), while another five (22%) participants mentioned owning sweaters which they picked up while visiting Norway in the 1940s and 1950s (OH #006, 013, 015, 020, 021). Twelve of the 23 interviewees (52%) made reference to receiving sweaters from Norway as gifts (i.e., OH #004, 005, 010, 013, 019). Two (9%) interviewees stated that they themselves, or someone they knew, currently produced the patterned sweaters (OH #015, 019). Three (13%) noted that the sweaters were easily distinguishable because of their "definite Norwegian style" and the fact that they originated in Norway (OH #001, 003, 018). Other distinguishing features were the bright colors and occasional snowflake design (OH #006, 018).

4.1.1.4 Knitted Items - Mittens

Six (26%) of the people interviewed referred to Norwegian mittens worn in Valhalla Centre (OH #001, 005, 015, 018, 022, 023). Two (9%) participants referred to mittens brought from Norway when immigrating (OH #018, 022). One family brought many plain mittens from Norway along with a few patterned ones for special occasions. The informant remembered that these mittens lasted a long time (OH #006). Five (22%) of the interviewees spoke of some pairs of mittens sent from Norway soon after they arrived in Canada or more recently (OH #007, 008, 015, 016, 019). One (4%) interviewee currently produced some of the mittens herself (OH #016).

4.1.1.5 Knitted Items - Stockings

Only five (22%) oral history participants mentioned the two-color knitted stockings. One pair of stockings was brought from Norway and worn until after World War II (OH #016). Three other pairs were sent from Norway soon after the settlers arrived in Valhalla Centre (OH #006, 007, 015). As stated earlier, one interviewee recalled some stockings that were originally worn with knickers (OH #021). None of these stockings were in current use.

No other clothing artifacts with special Norwegian designs were mentioned in the oral histories. Many people planning to leave Norway were told that they would not be wearing Norwegian clothing in Canada, and therefore did not bring any with them (OH #006, 010, 014).

4.1.2.1 Household Textiles

The Norwegian household textile artifacts and their characteristics referred to in the oral histories are found in Table 4.2. Most oral history participants referred to general Norwegian household textile articles being brought from Norway (OH #009); they recalled only a few specific household textiles that were brought over during immigration.

One (4%) respondent related that few items with Norwegian designs were made in the first years of settlement in Valhalla Centre because they "took too long" and other activities took priority over textile handwork (OH #003). Thirteen (56%) interviewees spoke of a variety of utility and decorative textiles, including table runners and table covers, that were brought with immigrants, sent over as gifts from relatives and friends or acquired later in Norway (e.g., OH #004, 005, 007, 009, 021, 022). No specific artifacts in this group were recalled as being of Norwegian design; it was only remembered that they had come from Norway (OH #003, 013).

The only household textile embroidery technique specifically mentioned was the *hardangersaum* embroidery used in table covers and table runners. Six (26%) interviewees referred to articles with *hardangersaum* embroidery being brought from Norway; one referred to three pieces in one person's possession (OH #011), another to her mother bringing a tablecloth from Norway (OH #013), and yet another speaking of four pieces brought over in her mother's trunk (OH #004). The mother of one participant had brought a number of *hardangersaum* embroidery pieces with her, but had given them to other daughters (OH #018).

One (4%) of the interviewees recalled a hand-woven tapestry used as a chair throw that was sent over from Norway before 1950 (OH #003). The tapestry had deep colors, eight-petal rose motifs and other geometric patterns characteristic of the Norwegian textiles. This artifact was in current use and is included in the research inventory (ACC #007.10).

Table 4.2 References to Household Textiles in Oral Histories

Reference to Artifact	Gen. Text.	Hard.	Tap.	Woven Cov.	Com.	Åklær	Embr. Kits
Brought from Norway	6	6	-	1	-	-	-
Sent early from Norway	2	-	-	1	1	2	-
Sent from Norway before 1950	2	-	1	-	-	-	-
Owned in Valhalla Centre	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Acquired later in Norway	4	-	-	-	-	-	9
Currently produced	1	-	-	-	-	-	8
TOTAL REFERENCES	15	7	1	2	1	2	17

Gen.Text.=General Household Textiles
Hard.=Hardanger Embroidery
Tap.=Tapestry
Woven Cov.=Woven Coverlets
Com.=Knitted Comforter
Åklær=Square Woven Coverlets
Embr.Kits=Embroidery Kits

Note. A dash is used where no references to artifacts were recorded.

Another informant recalled that a woven coverlet with geometric patterns was sent from Norway soon after the arrival of the family in Valhalla Centre (OH #007). A similar coverlet was brought to the new settlement by another family (OH #014). Oral history participant #007 referred to a patterned knitted comforter and two woven *åklær* that were sent to his family from Norway. The two *åklær* were worn out during the first years in Valhalla Centre.

During World War II, clothing and other articles were sent *to* Norway. It was not until after the war that pieces such as table covers and doilies were sent from there (OH #015). Still, immigrants who had no contact with relatives in Norway had no direct access to Norwegian textiles, and received no clothing and textile articles from Norway before or after the war (OH #022).

4.1.2.2 Embroidery Kits

Nine (39%) of those people interviewed mentioned knitting and embroidery kits available in Norway (OH #005, 006, 011, 013, 014, 015, 018, 020, 022). The kits consisted of patterns and materials necessary to complete sweaters, embroidered cushions, bell pulls and table runners. Most people saw the kits or the finished products while visiting Norway and decided to purchase the kits and bring them home. Some respondents recalled that they had seen the kits earlier in Canadian homes, and had always wanted to try the new stitches. Of the nine who brought the kits back to Canada, most had not done this type of work before. Five (22%) interviewees had embroidered their own items in cross-stitch, double cross-stitch, vertical stitch and/or *hardangersaum*.

Most of the participants who had acquired kits in Norway and had produced items from them continued to use Norwegian embroidery stitches on cushions and table runners (OH #006, 014, 020). One woman stated that the Norwegian embroidery used in the bell pull was the only embroidery work she produced (OH #020). The oral histories revealed that some women in the community currently produced embroidered pieces, either intermittently or in bulk, to sell or to give away as gifts. Eight of the oral history participants themselves currently took part in this activity (see chapter 4.4 for more information on the current production of Norwegian household textiles).

4.1.3 Tools and Equipment

Tools and equipment used for textile-related activities in Valhalla Centre were also referred to in the oral histories. Six (26%) of the interviewees mentioned that spinning wheels were brought from Norway either with the interviewees themselves or with their mothers or grandmothers (OH #001, 003, 015, 018, 022). In most cases, the mothers and grandmothers continued to use the spinning wheels in Valhalla Centre until approximately 1945 (OH #015).

Four (18%) of the respondents remembered spinning wheels in the community (OH #003, 009, 011, 019). Oral history participant #009 noted that his wife brought her wheel along and used it often in Canada. Another woman brought hers but never used it in Valhalla Centre (OH #017). Norwegians coming from a city in Norway often did not own a spinning wheel, and therefore usually did no spinning when they arrived in Valhalla Centre (OH #013). One interviewee had learned to card and spin as a young girl in Norway. She brought her skill with her and continued to spin on her mother-in-law's spinning wheel in Valhalla Centre (OH #003). Some participants referred to spinning wheels that were not brought to Valhalla Centre, but were left in other parts of Canada and the United States (OH #012).

Other tools and equipment included carders and spools which accompanied the spinning wheels, sewing machines and knitting machines (OH #001, 002, 019). Oral history participant #003 mentioned quilting frames and knitting needles brought to Valhalla Centre. Two sets of knitting needles were recorded in the inventory, but no quilting frames were found.

4.1.4 Miscellaneous Clothing, Textiles and Accessories

Oral history participants noted a few individual Norwegian items. A doll in Hardanger costume was given as a gift to participant #001 in 1981. Many Norwegian flags and dolls were picked up by community residents while visiting Norway (see chapter 4.5.4, p. 112. Home-made shoes, *veksaumsko*, were mentioned by oral history participants #001 and #016. Interviewee #009 described the *hvatmel* clothing (the heavy, coarsely-woven clothing of the "old country") used when first settling in Valhalla Centre. A *busserul*, a hooded cloak-like garment that tied inside behind the back, was mentioned by participant #010.

Hairstyles of immigrants coming from Norway to Valhalla Centre were mentioned in the oral histories. Two (9%) respondents recalled having braids when they came as young girls, but having their hair cut so they would be less conspicuous (OH #006, 014)(see chapter 4.6.2, p. 126).

4.1.5 Norwegian Textile Activities

Numerous Norwegian textile activities were recorded in the oral histories. Knitting was one of the current activities in Valhalla Centre (see chapter 4.4, p. 108). Spinning, knitting and embroidery techniques learned in Norway were continued in Valhalla Centre to make plain articles (see chapter 4.6.2, p. 126).

The oral histories revealed that many women did their own carding, spinning and knitting (OH #004). Husbands often sheared the sheep and helped to wash and card the wool (OH #016). People not owning sheep purchased fleece from local stores or from neighbors (OH #009, 022).

Embroidery of cushion covers, bell pulls and table runners was a common occurrence in private homes as well as at Ladies Aid meetings. Many of these were made from kits from Norway. Some of the pieces were entered into local fairs (see Appendix N14, ACC #024.01). *Hardangersaum* was the most frequent embroidery found (OH #006, 010, 011, 012, 015)(see chapter 4.4; 4.6.2).

Oral history interviews revealed that auxiliary groups were organized to meet for quilting bees and sewing (OH #001, 003, 005)(see chapter 4.6.2, p. 127, 129). Four (17%) respondents made note of the Ladies Aid Society and the various activities done in conjunction with it. Although most recalled that no specific Norwegian textile activities were done, one interviewee mentioned doing *hardangersaum* embroidery with the group (OH #012). Carding, knitting and quilting were also mentioned as Ladies Aid group activities. Weaving was not mentioned in the Valhalla Centre oral histories, except in reference to work done in Norway (see chapter 4.6.2, p. 127).

According to the oral histories, most of the clothing purchases made by the Norwegians in Valhalla Centre were not influenced by their ethnic origin (OH #005, 013). Much of what was available to the general community was of a 'western style'. The Norwegians chose their purchases from among these items and did not look for articles with Norwegian character or design.

4.1.6 Norwegian non-Textile-Related Activities

As well as providing information pertaining to Norwegian clothing and textiles, the oral histories provided information about the Norwegian foods that were made and enjoyed, the use of the Norwegian language, the Norwegian activities participated in and the various other objects that were brought over or sent from Norway. Many activities mentioned here are further discussed in chapter 4.6.1.

Many of the traditional foods, both main meals and desserts, were currently being made by many residents of Valhalla Centre. Where they were not made, it was for a variety of reasons. Some participants lived alone and did not entertain often, some lived in the Pioneer Home in Hythe (see map in Appendix O) and did not have cooking facilities, and many others were not inclined to baking and cooking.

The list of the food items mentioned by participants included the cooked foods (*kjøttsuppe* (meatsoup), *kjøttkaker* (meatballs), *lutefisk* (codfish soaked in lye), *fiskeboller* (fishballs), *labskaus* (lamb stew), blood sausage, milk with dumpling soup, *klubb* (potato dumplings), *potetkaker* (potato cakes), *rømmegraut* (cream porridge)), and the baked goods (*lefse*, *flatbrød*, *krumkake*, *bløtkake*, *goro*, *fattigman*, *vaffler*, *rosettes*, *berlinerkranser*, *vinetarte*, *julekake*, *sandbakkels* and Norwegian heart-shaped pancakes). Most of these baked goods have no English translations.

It was suggested by oral history participants that there was always a lot of Norwegian baking and cooking done, even if there was not always a lot of

Norwegian clothing worn or textiles displayed in the home (OH #011). Every type of delicacy was not made by each Norwegian in Valhalla Centre. The participants baked or cooked items according to where they were from in Norway, how long they had lived in the United States and adapted recipes to North American ways, or whether they lived near relatives who made a specific type of food (OH #012). For some individuals it was important to always have some ethnic baking available, while for others, preparing specific items for special occasions was all that was necessary (OH #012)(see chapter 4.6.1, p. 121).

Six (26%) oral history informants mentioned the activities of the Sons of Norway Lodge. One took part in all of the Lodge's activities, while four (17%) mentioned that they only took part in the 17th of May festivities to celebrate Norway's Constitution Day. Two (9%) informants recalled the St. Hans' Fest bonfires sponsored by the Sons of Norway Lodge. Many oral history participants did not currently take part in the Sons of Norway activities because they had become older and the functions were further away (OH #002). One participant noted that although her family took part in the events, she personally did not (OH #014). More information on the activities of the Sons of Norway Lodge is found in chapter 4.6.1, p. 119.

Other Norwegian activities were also mentioned. Two (9%) interviewees spoke of playing Norwegian whist while another two (9%) spoke of recreational ski-jumping in the Norwegian style (OH #002, 007, 020, 021).

Non-textile-related objects referred to in the oral histories were either brought directly or indirectly from Norway during immigration or acquired later as gifts or purchases from Norway. Some people remembered specific items while others could not remember owning any articles, or at least could not remember seeing them in the home (OH #016). This lack of recollection may have been because they never noticed the artifacts in the home or in use, or that they did not have first-hand contact with the textiles during the early period. Other participants made no mention of characteristically Norwegian artifacts even though there were such objects visible in the room. These people might not have felt any impact from these objects, or might not have consciously thought of them as Norwegian (OH #017).

Eight (35%) participants stated that they had "some" objects, but did not specify the particular types of objects or their quantities. Five (22%) participants had wooden objects from Norway; two (9%) owned wooden bowls and one (4%) had a wooden stirring stick (*tvare*) from Norway (OH #012). Three (13%) informants had items made of pewter. These items were acquired recently, as pewter items were not common in Norway in earlier years (OH #013). One participant had a set of pewter candlesticks from a recent visit to Norway (OH #018). Six (26%) oral history participants owned silverware from Norway while three (13%) participants had Norwegian silver spoons. One person (4%) mentioned having specific ornaments from Norway (OH #007). Another mentioned having books and other literature sent to him (OH #001). Four (17%) interviewees spoke of trunks brought from Norway that were painted in the characteristic *rosemaling* patterns (OH #012, 016), and finally, one interviewee referred to a storage building (*stabbur*) built in the characteristic Norwegian design (OH #014).

For all of the characteristically Norwegian clothing and textiles and other objects, it is interesting to note the variety of attitudes and values held toward these objects by the informants. No specific question in the oral history guidelines related directly to this, but attitudes and values could often be detected in the way informants referred to particular textiles or to clothing in general. Some informants held items from Norway in high esteem, treating them carefully or not using them at all in an attempt at preservation (OH #004). Others included the Norwegian clothing and textile artifacts in their general Norwegian heritage and experience. Still others put the Norwegian artifacts aside as a common part of their existence, finding no special use for them then or currently. Further discussion of the attitudes of Valhalla Centre residents toward their heritage is found in chapter 4.10, pp. 160-1.

4.2 Objective Two

To gather written and visual documentary sources relating to Norwegian ethnic clothing and textile artifacts from the community of Valhalla Centre, Alberta.

Source documents collected from the institutions listed in the methodology provided the following results (see chapter 3.2, p. 66):

1. The Glenbow museum had photographs of buildings in Valhalla Centre, including the Creamery, main street, and barns and cattle, but had no information pertaining to clothing and textiles.
2. The Provincial Archives of Alberta contained the community and area history, *Pioneer Round-Up*, 1967, as well as primary documents such as settlement and land claims records.
3. The Peace River Centennial Museum contained no written or visual documentary sources.
4. The Grande Prairie Pioneer Museum did not have any written material dealing with Valhalla Centre.
5. The South Peace Centennial Museum in Beaverlodge was not open or accessible because of heavy snow and cold temperatures at the time the research was carried out. The researcher was told that there was nothing pertaining to this study within its holdings. Returning to the museum in June, 1988, the researcher located a photograph taken in Valhalla Centre in 1928. The photograph was of a group attending a special meeting at the Valhalla Centre Hall. No Norwegian clothing and textiles were evident in the photograph.

6. There was similarly nothing dealing with the clothing and textiles of Valhalla Centre in the Lutheran Church Archives in Camrose.
7. The Valhalla Evangelical Lutheran Church Archives contained *The Valhalla Evangelical Lutheran Church 50th Anniversary Booklet*, 1975, as well as church records and business meeting minutes.
8. Individuals within the Valhalla Centre community supplied two written documents - *Reminiscings of Bennie (Bjørn) Velve* by Inger Velve, 1966, and *Christmas Came out of a Trunk* by Olive (Fimrite) Stickney, 1976.

Although much was found in the written and visual documentary sources on the general clothing worn and produced, little information on specific Norwegian clothing and textiles was found. The only reference to a specific Norwegian textile artifact was recorded under the family history of Olive (Fimrite) Stickney in *Pioneer Round-Up* where it stated that in coming to Valhalla Centre, her mother, Inga Fimrite, brought Norwegian textiles in a trunk. "Neatly folded in one corner were pieces of her finest Hardanger embroidery from faraway Norway." (1976, p. 494) An oral history with the author revealed that there were four of these pieces (OH #004). The *hardangersaum* pieces were still unfinished when she acquired them, but were taken back to Norway with a cousin, Hilda Rorem, to be completed. Once returned to Mrs. Stickney, she herself kept one, distributing the other three to her family (ACC #005.01).

The article written by Olive (Fimrite) Stickney for Chatelaine (December, 1976), *Christmas Came out of a Trunk*, contained the only other reference to Norwegian textiles (ACC #005.80). This reference, however, was identical to the one recorded in *Pioneer Round-Up* under the Fimrite family's historical account.

Church records and minutes of church business meetings did not disclose any information about the Norwegian clothing and textiles of Valhalla Centre. *The Reminiscings of Bennie (Bjørn) Velve* and the 50th Anniversary Booklet of the Valhalla Evangelical Lutheran Church made no written mention of Norwegian clothing, although references to 'western-styled' dress were recorded. In the Velve book, Inger Velve includes two photographs of her mother Petrine and her aunt Ane in their "*Hardanger drakt's*", Norwegian folk costumes, before leaving Norway (ACC #033.05)(see Appendix N1). Other portions of the research revealed that these costumes came with them to Valhalla Centre. These two photographs were the only photographs of Norwegian textiles found in written documents in Valhalla Centre. Others were found in participants' private collections.

From participants' private collections, 29 photographs showing individuals and groups in Norwegian dress were inventoried (see Appendix N9). One photograph of a Valhalla Centre child in costume was found (ACC #022.22). Most of the photographs, however, were taken in Norway, showing Norwegian scenes and locations.

4.3 Objective Three

To create an inventory of Norwegian ethnic clothing and textile artifacts from the community of Valhalla Centre, Alberta.

Telephone contact was made with participants and visits made to homes to locate clothing and textile artifacts as well as related artifacts, tools and equipment. The classification system for the artifacts is explained in Appendix A. Explanations of the criteria distinguishing between specific artifacts is found in Appendix B.

For the inventory, 383 artifacts were located and documented. The main artifact categories are shown in the pie graph in Figure 4.1. The distribution of major artifact categories and the specific artifacts are given in Tables 4.3 and 4.4. References to artifacts in the inventory are labelled in the findings with their accession number in parentheses (i.e., (ACC #001.01)).

4.3.1 Clothing

Clothing categories in the artifact inventory are shown in the pie graph in Figure 4.2. Of the 83 clothing artifacts, the most frequently found garment was the patterned sweater, both of the older and the newer styles (see Appendix N2, N3, N4, N5 for the various styles). These sweaters included those commercially knit by hand or machine or hand knit by a relative or friend, either in Valhalla Centre or in Norway. There were 35 sweaters, 34 of the cardigan style and one of the ski pullover style, making up the third largest specific artifact group in the inventory.

Eighteen pairs and four single patterned mittens were located for the inventory. Fifteen of these were of the two-colored knitted pattern of the Selbu district in Norway with two eight-petal rose motifs on the backs (see Appendix N6). The remaining three pairs were knitted in a single color and had additional floral embroidery common to the Setesdal area.

Two pairs of stockings and one single stocking were inventoried. The stocking pairs were of the two-color knitted design from the Selbu area of Norway (see Appendix N7). The single child's stocking was sent from the Setesdal area to Valhalla Centre.

Five complete folk costumes (*bunader*) were located for the inventory. One came from the Setesdal district in Norway, worn on the trip to Valhalla Centre by the research participant (PART. #007). The bodice of the costume is pictured in Appendix N8, and a photo of the entire costume being worn by the participant's granddaughter is shown in Appendix N9. Other costumes were from the Hardanger and Telemark districts in Norway (see Appendix N9, N10 for details of the Hardanger folk costume). The original pieces of the Telemark costumes were intact and kept in storage. Some pieces of the Hardanger costumes were not original; due to wear, some of the skirt and apron parts had to be replaced.

Figure 4.1 Norwegian Clothing and Textiles in Valhalla Centre, Alberta: Major Artifact Categories

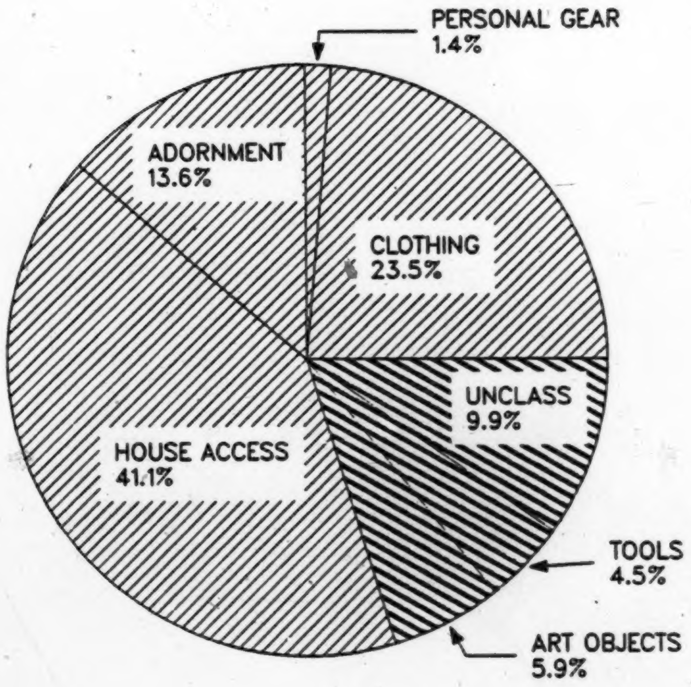


Figure 4.2 Norwegian Clothing and Textiles in Valhalla Centre, Alberta: Clothing Categories in Inventory

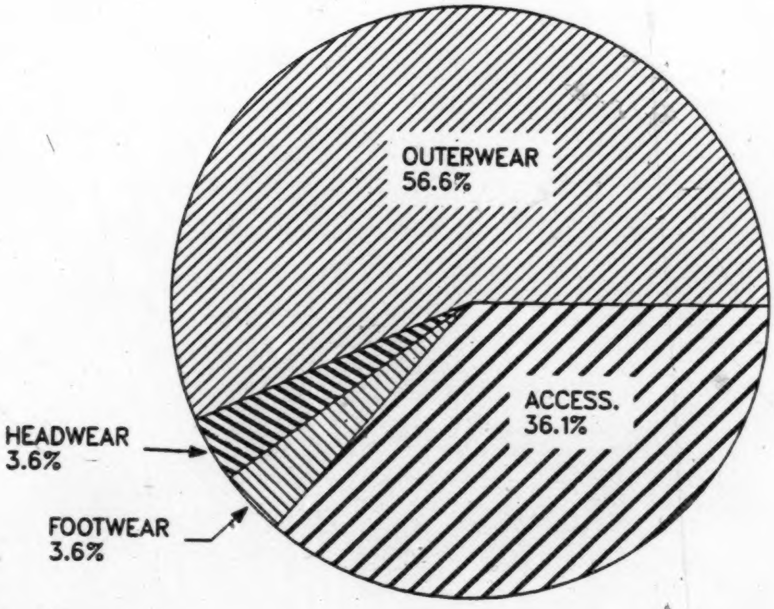


Table 4.3 Distribution of Major Artifact Categories in Artifact Inventory

Artifact Category	Frequency	Percent (%)
Bedding	7	1.8
Furniture	1	0.3
Household Accessory	168	43.9
Adornment	48	12.5
Clothing, Outerwear	47	12.3
Clothing, Headwear	3	0.8
Clothing, Footwear	3	0.8
Clothing, Accessories	30	7.8
Personal Gear	5	1.3
Art Object, Picture	5	1.3
Art Object, Hanging	15	3.9
Art Object, Tapestry	1	0.3
Tools and Equipment	16	4.1
Unclassified	34	8.9
TOTAL	383	100.0

Three aprons were found for the inventory, two of which were embroidered with *hardangersaum* and were originally meant to be part of the Hardanger district folk costume (see Appendix N11). The third apron had been acquired alone recently as a gift.

Thirty-eight of the 48 adornment artifacts located for the inventory were brooches. The majority of these were silver filigree brooches, *sølјer*, traditionally worn with folk costumes, but often worn at the throat of 'western-styled' dresses, blouses and suit jackets. Some *sølјer* only had filigree patterns while some had 'spoons' and 'leaves' (see Appendix N10, N12, N13). As well, there were two enamel pins with pictures of reindeer and sleighs in the northern sun painted on them, and two others with the fairytale character "Peer Gynt" riding a reindeer, with his name inscribed beneath. Other adornments included four sets of filigree earrings, four pendants, and two lapel pins.

4.3.2 Household Accessories

Household accessories comprised the largest group in the artifact inventory (see Table 4.4). The distribution of the ten types of individual artifacts in this category is shown in the pie graph in Figure 4.3.

Of the 216 household textiles located for the inventory, eight (4.1%) were bedding articles such as sheets, pillowcases and blankets, while the remaining 208 (95.9%) were household furniture accessories. These household furniture accessories included bell pulls, chair throws, cushions, doilies, table covers (commonly known as tablecloths, but specified as table covers in this research to distinguish them from smaller runners and doilies), table runners, tablecloth sets, counter sets, and sofa sets. Explanations of the classifications of these artifacts are found in Appendices A and B.

Twenty bell pulls, or *klokkestrenger*, found hanging on walls in the participants' homes, were inventoried. Most of these were embroidered on wool, aida cloth (a specially woven cloth used for cross-stitch) or mesh using cross-stitch, double cross-stitch or vertical stitch (see Appendix N14). Their designs were generally the traditional geometric patterns with eight-petal roses, diamonds and squares. One bell pull had a colorful floral design, displaying a unique combination of a typical Norwegian article and an atypical design. The bell pulls had either brass, cast iron or bamboo end pieces, and were occasionally fitted with a bell at the bottom.

Fifty-nine cushions were inventoried, making them the most frequently found artifacts. There was a large variety of cushions with covers that were either woven (7), embroidered by hand (45) or machine (3), painted (1), or produced by some other technique (3). The cushions were either of an older Norwegian style with muted colors and geometric designs, or of a newer style with brighter colors and stylized flowers and leaves which have also become characteristically Norwegian (see Appendix N15). Most hand embroidered cushions were made from patterns and

Table 4.4 Specific Norwegian Ethnic Clothing and Textiles in Artifact Inventory

Artifact Name	Frequency	Percent (%)
Bedspread	1	0.3
Blanket	1	0.3
Pillowcase	1	0.3
Sheet	3	0.8
Feather Tick Cover	1	0.3
Bell Pull	20	5.2
Chair Throw	2	0.5
Cushion	59	15.1
Doily	7	1.8
Table Cover	25	6.5
Table Runner	43	11.0
Tablecloth Set	3	0.8
Counter Cover	2	0.5
Sofa Set	3	0.8
Brooch	37	9.5
Lapel Pin	3	0.8
Pendant	3	0.8
Earring Set	4	1.0
Belt Buckle	2	0.5
Cuff Links	1	0.3
Bracelet	1	0.3
Apron	3	0.8
Dress	1	0.3
Folk Dress	5	1.3
Jacket	1	0.3
Sweater	35	8.9
Shawl	1	0.3
Skirt	1	0.3
Toque	2	0.5
Scarf	1	0.3
Stocking, single	1	0.3
Stockings, pair	2	0.5
Mitten, single	4	1.0
Mittens, pair	18	4.7
Gloves, pair	3	0.8
Garter	1	0.3
Collar	1	0.3
Purse	1	0.3
Packsack	3	0.8
Picture, embroidered	4	1.0
Hanging, embroidered	14	3.7
Hanging, woven	1	0.3
Tapestry	1	0.3
Wooden Hanging	3	0.8
Spinning Wheel	6	1.6
Carder, regular	3	0.8
Carder, quilt	1	0.3
Carder, drum	1	0.3

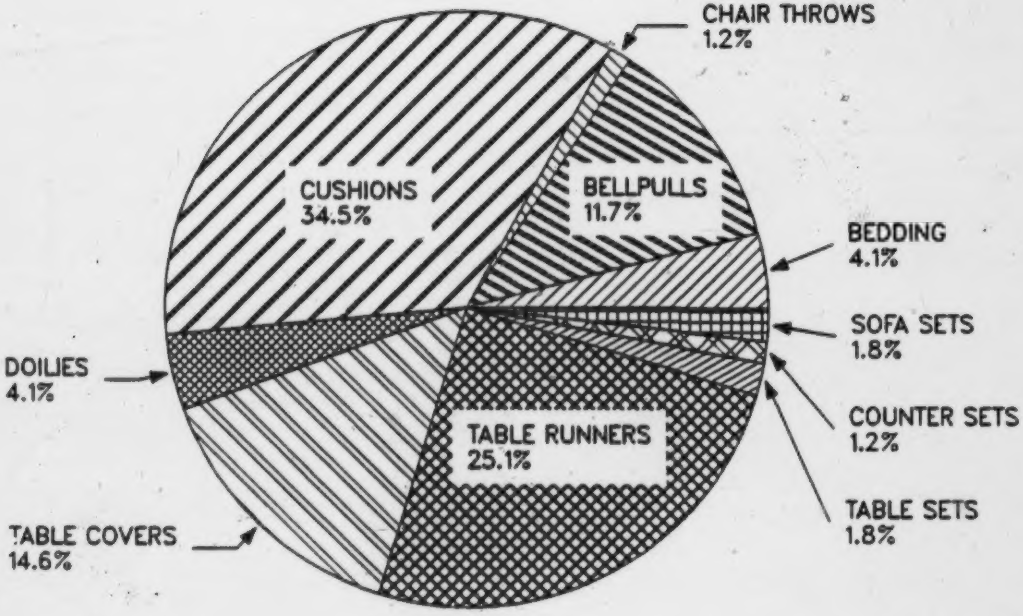
Scissors	1	0.3
Knitting Needle Sets	2	0.5
Crochet Hook	1	0.3
Textile Remnant	1	0.3
Unfinished Textile	6	1.6
Carded Wool	1	0.3
Plate Hanger	6	1.6
Costumed Doll	8	2.1
Norwegian Flag	7	1.8
Miscellaneous	10	2.7
TOTAL	383	100.0

materials purchased as kits in Norway or from patterns from other kits already used. Some cushions inventoried were made from these kits in Norway by friends or relatives and sent to individuals in Valhalla Centre. Others were made in Valhalla Centre or Hythe (10 miles south-west of Valhalla Centre, see map in Appendix O) by community residents. Eleven cushions of similar style and color were made by one of four women currently living in Hythe but who had lived in Valhalla Centre earlier. Gunhild Solheim (PART. #014), Caroline Roset (PART. #016), Anna Severson (PART. #013) and Olga Tangen (PART. #011) made these cushions as gifts or for sale and auction at fairs, and the cushions were often found in Valhalla Centre homes. Chapter 4.1.2.2 contains oral history references to these cushions, while chapter 4.4 contains references to their current production.

Only seven doilies, classified as small round, square or rectangular centre pieces for tables, were found (see Appendix B). There were two of *hardangersaum* embroidery, two of hand or machine embroidery, two of crocheting and one of knitting.

Twenty-five table covers were documented for the inventory. In order to classify these for the inventory, they were identified as textiles that covered the majority of the table surface, commonly extending over the table edge (see

Figure 4.3 Norwegian Clothing and Textiles in Valhalla Centre, Alberta: Household Accessories in Inventory



Appendix B). Various styles and techniques were used including embroidery (18), painting (1) and weaving (6). Nine were *hardangersaum* embroidered covers, eight were of satin stitch, and one was a machine embroidered table cover sent from Norway. Most of the woven table covers had no distinguishable pattern. One of them, however, had the eight-petal rose motif woven into its structure (ACC #025.36).

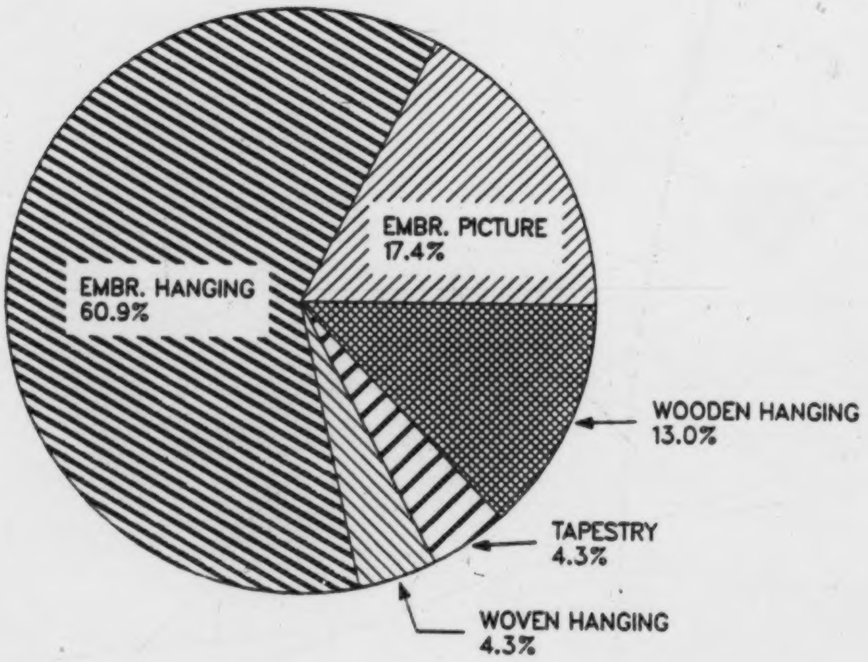
There were 43 table runners in the inventory. These were articles that did not completely cover the table surface, but were larger and usually longer than the doilies, sometimes running the full length of the table (see Appendix B). The table runners located for the inventory varied widely. Eight table runners were machine embroidered (see Appendix N16), eight were woven in overshot patterns (see Appendix N17) and eight were painted. Twelve table runners were handmade of *hardangersaum* embroidery which were either brought with the immigrants from Norway (see Appendix N18) or sent from Norway in later years (see Appendix N19). Contemporary runners were of cross-stitch (4) and double cross-stitch (5) embroidery, and were often found together with cushion covers and/or bell pulls in a matching set (i.e., ACC #025.15). The runners were often sent as gifts from friends in Norway.

A variety of chair throws, sofa sets, counter sets and tablecloth sets were also inventoried. These were produced in a variety of ways including weaving, hand embroidery and machine embroidery.

4.3.3 Art Objects

Embroidered hangings and pictures found on the walls of the homes were classified as art objects because of their decorative purposes (see Appendix A). A pie graph showing the distribution of these artifacts is found in Figure 4.4. Twelve of the 20 art objects found were embroidered hangings or banners, hung by a rod of cast iron, brass or wood at the top (see Appendix N20). The embroidery on

Figure 4.4 Norwegian Clothing and Textiles in Valhalla Centre, Alberta: Art Objects in Inventory



the hangings was generally cross-stitch, double cross-stitch or vertical stitch executed on mesh or aida cloth. Many of the designs were pictorial and had Norwegian inscriptions on them (see chapter 4.3.6). In addition to the hangings, there were four embroidered pictures, pictorial of Norway, one tapestry and one woven hanging. Three wooden hangings with pictures of Norwegians in folk costumes were also found in this category.

4.3.4 Unclassified Textile Artifacts

Forty-two unclassified artifacts were located for the inventory. Eight miscellaneous textile pieces were inventoried, including six unfinished cushion covers and wall hangings and one piece of carded wool. Seven Norwegian flags on silver stands were found on display in participants' homes. Eight dolls dressed in the various folk costumes of the Hardanger, Telemark, Nordland and Setesdal districts in Norway were located. One embroidered and five woven plate hangers were located, as well as one cross-stitch embroidered bookmark and a wooden jewellery case with costumed figures. Other miscellaneous artifacts included two candle wreaths of beaded crocheting, a fabric calendar bearing an image of a Norwegian couple in costume, a wooden plate with a painting of a girl in Norwegian costume, a watch fob of hair constructed in an indeterminable manner and a large trunk painted in the traditional Norwegian *rosemaling* style.

4.3.5 Textile-related Artifacts, Tools and Equipment

A variety of articles relating to textile production were located: six spinning wheels of three styles (vertical-, horizontal-, and diagonal-based); three carders (regular hand carders, a quilt carder and a drum carder); knitting needles; a knitting pattern book; a crochet hook; a pair of scissors. One of the horizontal-based spinning wheels was painted black with red and green trim, and bore the initials of the woman for whom it was made (ACC #021.31). This coloring is typical of the Telemark district in Norway from which the wheel came. The diagonal-based spinning wheel belonging to research participant #038 had the initials of the owner, "M.R.", and the year it was made, "1897", painted on it (see Appendix N21)(ACC #038.01).

4.3.6 Norwegian Labels or Inscriptions

Sixty-two of the 383 artifacts had Norwegian labels or inscriptions which identified them as Norwegian. A list of these labels and inscriptions is found in Table 4.5.

Two of the artifacts only had '*Norge*' (Norway) on them. One artifact had '*Norge, Gudbrandsdalen*', one had '*Norge, Rotodden*', and another had '*Bardufoss*' inscribed on it (names of places and districts in Norway). One table cover had '*Norge*' painted on it, but also had figures of eight couples in district costumes and the names of the districts underneath: '*Sunnfjord, Voss, Flesberg, Osterdalen, Jolster, Valle Setesdal, Aust Telemark and Gol Hemsedal*'. Most of the inventoried artifacts with these inscriptions were table runners, table covers or cushions, often sent from Norway as gifts after the 1950's. They were noted by the owners as an important part of Norway's tourist market and export trade. The inscriptions on the artifacts were often accompanied by the Norwegian flag or ribbons, flowers and scenic pictures of rural Norway.

Textile artifacts were also sent from Norway as greetings and were inscribed with '*Hilsen fra Norge*' (Greetings from Norway) or from a specific location there (see Appendix N16). Eight (13.1%) of the artifacts had '*Hilsen fra Norge*', one had '*Hilsen fra Norge anno 1980*' (giving the year) and one had '*Hilsen fra Faavang*' (Greetings from Faavang).

Three (4.8%) artifacts bore the phrase '*Velkommen til vort hjem*' (Welcome to our home) (see Appendix N20). These artifacts were wall hangings or banners, common sights near the entrances of homes both in Norway and in North

Table 4.5 Norwegian Labels or Inscriptions on Artifacts in Artifact Inventory

Title or Inscription	Frequency	Percent (%)
Norge	2	3.2
Norge, Gudbrandsdalen	1	1.6
Norge, Rotodden	1	1.6
Bardufoss	1	1.6
Norge, et al.	1	1.6
Hilsen fra Norge	8	13.1
Hilsen fra Norge, Anno 1980	1	1.6
Hilsen fra Faavang	1	1.6
Velkommen til vort hjem	3	4.8
Welcome to our home	1	1.6
Selbu Kirke, Norge	1	1.6
Borgund Stavkirke, 1150	1	1.6
Dale of Norway	6	9.8
Fjord Fashion	2	3.2
Gann, Sandnes Sporty	1	1.6
Husfliden, Handknitted	1	1.6
Lillun Sport, Handknit in Norway	1	1.6
Nordstrikk AS, Made in Norway	4	6.5
O. S. Original Selbu Mittens	1	1.6
2. Juli 1903, 2. Juli 1978 Olav V, Alt for Norge	1	1.6
Aa eg veit meg eit land	1	1.6
Peer Gynt	2	3.2
God Jul	6	9.8
Julefred	1	1.6
Uff Da	1	1.6
Sov Godt	1	1.6
Lag mat med glede	1	1.6
"S"	3	4.8
"I. K. D. E."	1	1.6
"I. S. D. G."	1	1.6
Handarbeid	1	1.6
MS Oslofjord	1	1.6
Minne	1	1.6
Menor Aneilson Rijdi	1	1.6
God Påske	1	1.6
TOTAL	383	100.0

America. One wall hanging had the same inscription in English, as it was made specifically for a Canadian home. Another banner was embroidered with a picture of an old Norwegian stave church and was inscribed, '*Borgund Stavkirke, 1150*'.

A number of the sweaters documented for the inventory were produced by manufacturers in Norway and carried their labels. Six (9.8%) sweaters were handknit by '*Dale of Norway*' (see Appendix N4), while four (6.5%) bore the '*Nordstrikk A/S*' label. Single sweaters with manufacturers' labels were recorded from '*Fjord Fashion*', '*GANN, Sandnes Sporty*', '*Husfliden*' and '*Lillunsport*' (see Appendix N2). The two latter manufacturers produced hand-knit garments. The single jacket in the inventory also had the Fjord Fashion label.

There were various other textiles with other inscriptions and labels. Six (9.8%) household textiles had '*God Jul*' (Merry Christmas) inscribed on them. The three (4.8%) bed sheets in the inventory had an 'S' embroidered on them in satin-stitch. They were part of the bride's wedding collection and stood for her future husband's initial. Single items were found inscribed with '*julefred*' (Christmas peace), '*uffda*' (a Norwegian expression), '*sov godt*' (sleep well), '*Lag mat med glede*' (prepare food with gladness), and '*minne*' (memory).

4.3.7 Producers of Clothing and Textile Artifacts in Inventory

The clothing and textile artifacts documented in the inventory were produced by a variety of sources (see Table 4.6). Some of the artifacts were handmade, while others were factory manufactured. Of all the artifacts, 113 (29.5%) were commercially produced by hand or machine in Norway. Of those that were handmade, 53 (13.9%) had been made by the source individual, 55 (14.4%) had been produced by the mother, while 85 (22.2%) had been made by another relation to the source. Only six (1.6%) were made by a grandparent of the source, while 27 (7.1%) had been made and given to them by a friend. One (0.3%) item was locally manufactured and two (0.5%) were specifically remembered as being made by

Table 4.6 Producers of Norwegian Clothing and Textile Artifacts in Artifact Inventory

Producer	Frequency	Percent (%)
Source	53	13.9
Mother of source	55	14.4
Friend of source	27	7.1
Grandparent of source	6	1.6
Other relation to source	85	22.2
Local manufacturer	1	0.3
Norwegian manufacturer	113	29.5
Unknown	40	10.5
Gunhild Solheim	2	0.5
TOTAL	382	100.0

Gunhild Solheim, one of the participants living in Hythe (PART. #014).

4.3.8 Materials Used to Produce Artifacts in Inventory

The materials from which the artifacts were made were not always evident. The type of material used was seldom recorded, so that resource individuals could often only suggest what specific materials were used. The researcher attempted to visually verify the suggestions by examining the artifacts. The materials are listed in Table 4.7.

In the inventory, 105 (27.6%) of the artifacts were apparently made of wool, two (0.5%) of silk, seven (1.8%) of linen and 68 (17.9%) of cotton. Four (1.1%) were apparently a combination of wool and cotton, while 104 artifacts (27.4%) were a combination of some or all of the listed materials. Sixteen (4.2%) of the inventoried artifacts were made from synthetic textile materials. Embroidery pieces worked on mesh or a base cloth, and the folk costumes consisting of a

Table 4.7 Materials Used to Produce Artifacts in Artifact Inventory

Material	Frequency	Percent (%)
Wool	105	27.6
Silk	2	0.5
Linen	7	1.8
Cotton	68	17.9
Wool and Cotton	4	1.1
Synthetic	16	4.2
Combination	104	27.4
Other	73	19.2
Unknown	1	0.3
TOTAL	380	100.0

variety of techniques, pieces and materials, were recorded as made from a combination of materials.

4.3.9 Techniques Used to Produce Artifacts in Inventory

Basic construction techniques were recorded for each of the artifacts in the inventory. These techniques included weaving, knitting, crocheting, hand and machine embroidery, painting and a combination of these (see Table 4.8). Hand embroidery was used in 144 (37.7%) of the cases, while knitting and weaving was used in 39 (10.2%) and 61 (16%) respectively. Only four (1.0%) of the items were crocheted. Eight (2.1%) of the artifacts were machine embroidered and 19 (5%) were painted. Thirty-four (8.9%) were produced using a combination of techniques and 73 (19.1%) were produced by other means such as felting or carding. These techniques are similar to those found by Kerkhoven (1986)(see chapter 2.4.2). Kerkhoven found that the prize lists of agricultural fairs in Alberta and Saskatchewan between 1879 and 1915 contained articles executed in different techniques. She found that

Table 4.8 Techniques Used to Produce Artifacts in Artifact Inventory

Technique	Frequency	Percent (%)
Weaving	39	10.2
Knitting	61	16.0
Crocheting	4	1.0
Hand embroidery	144	37.7
Machine embroidery	8	2.1
Painting	19	5.0
Combination	34	8.9
Other	73	19.1
TOTAL	382	100.0

embroidery made up the largest category, knitting the second largest category, and quilting the third. She also found small amounts of crocheting and weaving, and very many other kinds of textile techniques. Very little spinning was found.

4.3.10 Norwegian Features Identifying Artifacts in Inventory

The Norwegian features which helped to identify the clothing and textiles for this specific inventory are found in Table 4.9. Provisions were given to record one primary and one secondary feature for each of the artifacts.

Twenty-seven (7.8%) of the artifacts were partially or totally worked in *hardangersaum* embroidery. Forty-three (12.4%) exhibited the eight-petal rose motif as their main Norwegian feature and 14 (4.9%) had it as their secondary feature. There were four (1.1%) artifacts executed in each of the *rosesaum* embroidery and the rosepath weaving design. Ten (2.9%) artifacts were identified as *lusekufte* sweaters (the knitting pattern bearing the single contrast stitches in the background portion)(see Appendix N6) and two (0.7%) artifacts had the *lusekufte* pattern as second in importance.

Table 4.9 Primary and Secondary Norwegian Features of Artifacts in Artifact Inventory

Norwegian Feature	Primary Frequency	Primary Percent(%)	Secondary Frequency	Secondary Percent(%)
Hardanger	27	7.8	-	-
Eight-petal rose	43	12.4	14	4.9
Rosesaum	4	1.1	-	-
Rosepath	4	1.1	-	-
Lusekufte	10	2.9	2	0.7
Two-color knitting	17	4.9	19	6.6
Bunad embroidery	6	1.7	-	-
Bunad beading	-	-	2	0.7
Krogbrad	-	-	1	0.3
Rosemaling	2	0.6	-	-
Setesdal floral	1	0.3	6	2.1
Geometric pattern	84	24.1	41	14.3
Greek key design	-	-	1	0.3
Color combination	42	12.1	86	30.0
Nisser motif	4	1.1	-	-
Candle motif	7	2.0	2	0.7
Heart motif	-	-	6	2.1
Flag motif	19	5.5	1	0.3
Troll motif	1	0.3	-	-
Viking ship motif, Stylized	1	0.3	2	0.7
Viking ship motif, Pictorial	-	-	1	0.3
Inscription	12	3.4	21	7.3
Norwegian crest	1	0.3	-	-
Folk costume	7	2.0	14	4.9
Producer's label	-	-	6	2.1
Sølje, Silver jewellery	41	11.8	2	0.7
Map of Norway	1	0.3	-	-
Weaving pattern	2	0.6	20	6.9
Norway, pictorial	6	1.7	5	1.7
Nordlands floral	-	-	1	0.3
Snowflake motif	-	-	1	0.3
Embroidery technique	1	0.3	4	1.4
Specific article	4	1.1	28	9.7
Scroll pattern	1	0.3	-	-
Heart and crown motif	-	-	2	0.7
TOTALS	348	100.0	288	100.0

Note. A dash is used where no artifacts with specific Norwegian features were inventoried.

Seventeen (4.9%) of the artifacts had the two-color knitting pattern as their primary Norwegian feature, while 19 (6.5%) had it as their second identifiable Norwegian feature. Six (1.4%) folk costumes had *bunad* embroidery as their primary feature. Two of these, the Hardanger *bunader*, had beading as a secondary part of their design. Two (0.6%) artifacts were painted in the *rosemaling* pattern, which is an identifiably Norwegian feature.

Geometric patterns, often accompanied by specific color choices and combinations, were significant. Eighty-four (24.1%) were primarily identified by their geometric patterns and 42 (12.1%) by their colors and specific combinations of colors. Forty-one (14.3%) had Norwegian geometric patterns as a secondary feature, while 86 (30.0%) had color choice and combination as secondary features.

Forty-one (11.8%) artifacts were identified as Norwegian because they were items of silver filigree jewellery, often with brass or gold-plated 'spoons' and 'leaves' which are typical of Norwegian folk costume jewellery. Two (0.7%) had this filigree work as a secondary feature.

Twenty-eight (9.7%) of the artifacts in the inventory were secondarily identified as Norwegian by their actual article type. Household accessories such as bell pulls accounted for eight of these. Six were adornments specific to Norway, while the five folk dresses accounted for the outer clothing under this category. Two of the clothing accessories, three of the hanging embroideries and four of the unclassified items (e.g., flags and dolls) were recognized in this manner.

Other significant features were the inscriptions on the artifacts. Thirty-three (10.7%) inventoried artifacts had inscriptions to identify them as Norwegian. Twelve (3.4%) had Norwegian inscriptions as their primary feature, while 21 (7.1%) had them as their secondary feature. These inscriptions are specifically discussed in Table 4.5 (see p. 99).

Twenty-two (7.4%) of the artifacts had characteristically Norwegian woven patterns, 2 (0.6%) primarily and 20 (6.8%) secondarily. Nineteen (5.5%) of the articles had the Norwegian flag prominent in their design or were flags themselves, while one (0.3%) had a Norwegian flag as its secondary feature.

Various other features identified artifacts as Norwegian. Among the primary features were candles (7, or 2%), pictures of Norway (6, or 1.7%), *nisse* or *nisser* (Norwegian Christmas elves)(4, or 1.1%), Setesdal floral embroidery (1, or 0.3%), troll figure (1, or 0.3%), and the stylized Viking ship (1, or 0.3%).

Other secondary features used to identify the artifacts as Norwegian included the following: Norwegian costume on figure or doll (14, or 4.9%), label, Setesdal floral embroidery and heart (6, or 2.1% each), pictures of Norway (5, or 1.7%), Norwegian embroidery technique used (4, or 1.4%), stylized Viking ship (2, or 0.7%), and heart and crown combination (2, or 0.7%). There was also the *krogbragd* style of weaving (1, or 0.3%), the pictorial Viking ship (1, or 0.3%), and the snowflake design in knitting (1, or 0.3%).

4.3.11 Usage of Clothing and Textiles Artifacts in Valhalla Centre, Alberta

Of the 383 artifacts, 19 (5%) were definitely not used at all and 193 (50.4%) were nonpersonal items. There were 136 (35.5%) artifacts used by females and 29 (7.6%) primarily used by male residents of the community. Sixty-five (17%) of the users were over 72 years of age. Seventy-two (18.8%) were between 54 and 71 years of age, 13 (3.4%) were from 36 to 53 and only 12 (3.1%) of the participants were under 18.

4.4 Objective Four

To identify any current production of Norwegian ethnic clothing and textile artifacts in Valhalla Centre, Alberta.

The following oral history questions pertaining to the production of Norwegian ethnic clothing and textiles in Valhalla Centre were asked under the heading, 'Clothing, Production, Selection and Maintenance':

5. Who made/makes those items that were handmade?
6. What methods were/are used to make them? Could you describe this production process?
10. Have there been any groups or organizations involved in the production of clothes or other textiles in the Valhalla Centre area?
11. Has the Valhalla Centre area had any clothing-related activities? Which ones? Can you tell about them?

As well, during the documentation of the artifacts and written and visual documentary sources, any current production of particular Norwegian ethnic clothing and textiles was recorded. Information from these sources sometimes overlapped with Norwegian textile activities mentioned in the oral histories, and is also found in chapter 4.1.5, p. 80. References to Valhalla Centre research participants follows the specific information given in parentheses (i.e., (PART. #001)).

References to the current production of the following articles were located: cushion covers, bell pulls, table runners, table covers, knitted sweaters, mittens, toques. These articles were generally produced by specific individuals in Valhalla Centre or in Hythe (see map in Appendix O), and were sold or given as gifts to residents of Valhalla Centre.

Twelve of the participants in the research sample were current producers of Norwegian ethnic clothing and textiles (PART. #010, 011, 012, 013, 014, 016, 018, 024, 025, 028, 030, 032). Eleven participants were actively involved in producing embroidered cushions, bell pulls and table runners using kits of patterns and material from Norway (PART. #010, 011, 012, 013, 014, 016, 024, 025, 030, 032)(see Appendix N6, N14, N15, N20). Most of these kits were acquired by the participants in Norway, or were sent over from Norway from friends or relatives after 1950. In each of the cases the participants were women ranging from 40 to 80 years old. Many of them were self-taught in the Norwegian embroidery and did other types of embroidery as well (see chapter 4.1.2.2, p. 78 and 4.3.2, p. 94 for more information on embroidery kits).

One woman started the embroidery "10 to 20 years ago when her children had grown" and "just after they had started making 'this pattern' over in Norway (1970s)" (PART. #014). Many of the participants stated that this woman had produced cushions for herself and for others, supplying many in Valhalla Centre with contemporary-styled Norwegian articles (see Appendix N14).

Hardangersaum embroidery was currently done by a few individuals in Valhalla Centre (OH #006, 010, 011, 012, 015). One participant from the sample was self-taught in this embroidery as well as many other kinds of handwork (PART. #010). She produced table runners, bell pulls and table covers for herself and her family, working mostly when her children were in school and during the winter months.

Knitting was a current textile activity in Valhalla Centre (OH #004). Two interviewees knew people who currently knit sweaters (OH #015, 019)(see chapter 4.1.1.3, p. 74). Participant #028 recently produced sweaters, mittens and toques for her family in the two-colored patterned style (see Appendix N5). She had picked up the kits in Norway in 1975 and continued to produce knitted garments for her family.

4.5 Objective Five

To identify those artifacts (a) no longer in existence, (b) preserved but not used, (c) preserved and occasionally used, and (d) currently in normal use in Valhalla Centre, Alberta.

This objective is directly related to the second problem statement: Which Norwegian ethnic clothing and textile artifacts are (a) no longer in existence, (b) preserved but not used, (c) preserved and occasionally used, and (d) currently in normal use? Information was taken from the numerically coded data sheets and from the manually recorded data. Analysis revealed documented artifacts in each of these categories.

4.5.1 Artifacts no longer in existence

Clothing brought from Norway for everyday use, including sweaters, mittens and stockings, as well as newly-purchased good-quality suits, wore out in the early years in Valhalla Centre. Household utility textiles also wore out through use. The Valhalla Centre research participants noted specific items that were used in the community, such as woven coverlets (*åklær*), woolen blankets (OH #014, 016), home-made shoes (*veksaumsko*) and a hooded cloak-like garment (*busserul*) (OH #010). Many informants remembered Norwegian immigrants wearing coarse, heavy clothing from Norway called *hvatmel* (OH #009). Participant #016 recalled wearing heavy, full homemade skirts (see chapter 4.1.4, p. 79 on miscellaneous clothing and textile artifacts).

4.5.2 Artifacts preserved but not used

Five spinning wheels and six carders were found preserved, but not currently used. The reasons for this lack of activity were not clear. It might have taken too long to produce yarn enough for garments needed, and it might have been more convenient and economical to purchase clothing at stores and from the mail-order catalogue. Also, there did not appear to be as many individuals owning sheep or having access to fleece. Women who spun when they first came to Valhalla Centre were currently older and not as active as previously. Most younger women had not learned the technique of spinning, which may also have affected the amount of spinning done.

Some household textiles and embroidered pictures and hangings were stored for a variety of reasons: (a) They were valuable gifts or heirlooms and the owners did not want to use them; (b) They were of good quality and were stored to keep them from wear and damage; (c) There was no room to display all of them in the home at one time and they were therefore rotated.

Household textiles and art objects such as embroidered pictures and hangings that had been bequeathed from parents were preserved but not used, with the intention of being handed down within the family. These bequeathed items included pillowcases, sheets, cushions, table covers, doilies, embroidered pictures and hangings and jewellery. Three participants in the research sample were connected through marriage, and the articles of the husbands' mother, a Norwegian immigrant to Valhalla Centre, had been divided between the families (PART. #010, 018, 025). Some of these items were displayed, but the majority of them were stored in drawers. Participant #021 had the folk costumes of the husband's mother stored as heirlooms.

Old and fragile clothing artifacts were not used. Similar to the household textiles, most of these were also stored in an attempt to preserve them and hand them down to later generations. Artifacts such as folk costumes and *hardangersaum* embroidered aprons fell into this category. Some clothing artifacts of good quality were also stored in an attempt to keep them from wear and damage and thus preserve this special quality.

Jewellery owned by an individual who did not generally wear jewellery, or jewellery that had become tarnished, was often not worn. Two-colored patterned stockings, at one time worn with woolen knickers in the winter, were not in current use. Some patterned mittens were not used because they were still new and had yet to be given away, or because they were a special remembrance of Norway.

4.5.3 Artifacts preserved and occasionally used

The household textiles and art objects in this category were those rotated with others to avoid crowding as well as those that were for seasonal use, such as Christmas and Easter table covers and table runners. These textiles would be stored most of the year and brought out for use at the appropriate times. Some were used more frequently than others.

Of the clothing artifacts, some sweaters, jackets, mittens and gloves were kept for special occasions such as church and weddings. The aprons with the *hardangersaum* embroidery were usually kept for use at special occasions such as meals at Christmas or birthdays. Folk costumes from Telemark, Hardanger and Setesdal were worn for special Norwegian celebrations such as the Sons of Norway Lodge's 17th of May picnic and Midsummer's festival and bonfire (St. Hans' Fest). They were also used for community anniversary celebrations, fairs and special occasions at the Valhalla Centre school. One woman wore her mother-in-law's folk costume while driving her family's Norwegian fjord horses at an annual fair (PART. #021). Owners of the folk costumes generally wore the costumes themselves, but would also lend them to a friend or relative to wear at certain times (PART. #007).

Some of the silver jewellery pieces were worn, as originally done, with the folk costumes at the special events mentioned above. Those not owning folk costumes often saved certain pieces of jewellery for special occasions, particularly if the items had been handed down from their mother or grandmother.

One of the spinning wheels and the carders used with it were occasionally used to teach others in the community how to spin. Spinning was currently done occasionally by one of the younger Valhalla Centre women who had learned the craft on this equipment.

4.5.4 Artifacts currently in normal use

Norwegian clothing and textiles and related artifacts currently in normal use in Valhalla Centre included the following items:

1. Cardigan and pullover sweaters, mittens, gloves and toques;
2. The single woven jacket with braided collar and front band;
3. Some of the silver brooches and pendants;
4. The single knitted blanket and woven bedspread, used as covers and comforters in the home;
5. A variety of household textiles including bell pulls, chair throws, coasters, cushions, doilies, sofa sets, table cloth sets, table covers, counter covers and table runners.

The patterned sweaters and mittens were in normal use, with the mittens often worn under leather gauntlets and used for farm work in the winter (OH #001, 009, 010). Some silver brooches and pendants were used daily, while others were used alternately with general jewellery. Participants in the research sample wore both older jewellery from Norway and more contemporary pieces acquired recently from Norway.

Norwegian flags and dolls dressed in the Norwegian folk costume were often found on display in the homes of the participants (see chapter 4.1.4, p. 79). This could have occurred because they took up little room on the shelves and were easily identified as Norwegian. Only those flags and dolls too fragile for everyday use or treasured as heirlooms were kept in storage.

The single *rosemaling* trunk located for the inventory was currently being used as a storage area for general clothing, textiles and other items (see chapter 4.1.6, p. 83 and 4.3.4, p. 97). Of the Norwegian textile tools and equipment, only the knitting needles, crochet hook and scissors were in current use.

4.6 Objective Six

To discuss the findings of the research in view of the general Norwegian immigration process.

4.6.1 General Characteristics

A comparison of the information gathered in the literature review with the information gathered to meet the previous objectives shows that the situation in the community of Valhalla Centre was somewhat similar to that of the general Norwegian immigrant situation in North America (*Norwegians in Alberta*, 1967; *Pioneer Round-Up*, 1972)(see chapter 2.4.1). Through conversations with Norwegians living in Valhalla Centre, and through examination of family and community histories, it was confirmed that the Peace River area, in which Valhalla Centre is situated, was indeed settled in the early 1900s, and that Valhalla Centre itself was founded by Reverend Halvor Nilsen Rønning and his companions in 1912 (OH #009, 011)(see chapter 2.5, p. 47). These first settlers were descendants of those who had left Norway before the turn of the century to go to the United States, and who later moved north and west into Canada. It was verified that these Norwegians, like the immigrants to the rest of North America, left Norway because of the poor economy in Norway and because they wanted to give their children new opportunities for an improved future (Ager, 1977b; Chrislock, 1981)(see chapter 2.4.1, p. 37). In addition to this, some of the Valhalla Centre immigrants came alone to seek out a new life in a promising land or to make some money to take back to Norway. Many of those who came later did so because they had family or friends already in the Valhalla Centre area who encouraged them to come (OH #003).

The literature mentions that the immigrants' livelihood and lifestyle often changed in coming to the new land (Brunvand, 1974; Lovoll, 1984; *Norwegians in Canada*, 1967)(see chapter 2.4.1, p. 41). The oral histories completed in Valhalla Centre revealed that this was not always the case. It must be remembered, however, that the sample taken for the research is not all-inclusive, and that others in the community perhaps had different experiences from those recorded here. Also, some participants may not have remembered accurately.

The first settlers in Valhalla Centre felt that they had to adjust to the lack of facilities and occasionally had to use different procedures to clear land for farming (OH #001). Farming, however, was remembered as being similar to that experienced by many immigrants in Norway. Interviewees recalled that in coming to Valhalla Centre, they usually just had to adjust to the new physical environment (OH #001). For some, the climate was almost the same as they had experienced in Norway or in the United States (OH #019).

Norwegians in Canada (1967) states that Norwegians integrated into North American life quickly (see chapter 2.4.1, p. 40). The research participants in Valhalla Centre remembered that they adapted to people of other cultures in their midst without incident, working in cooperation even though they sometimes found their customs different (OH #010, 013, 014, 016). It was recalled that later immigrants found Norwegians already in Valhalla Centre upon arriving and had little trouble fitting in and feeling at home, even in dealings with those of other cultures (OH #022). Both Norwegians and non-Norwegians in Valhalla Centre found themselves in the same circumstances and did their best to help each other (OH #019).

Some participants did not remember interacting with people of other cultures in Valhalla Centre (OH #020). They felt this might have been because they had large extended families and did not need to exceed the family boundaries, or because they had many children and therefore did not have much opportunity to interact in the community.

In keeping with the general characteristics of being hard-working and "desirable" settlers (Bjork, 1974, p. 6)(see chapter 2.4.1, p. 38), participants in the research sample recalled that Norwegians who came to Valhalla Centre were hard workers, many with experience as farmers (OH #001, 007, 011, 012, 013, 014, 016). They were equally qualified for much other work as well. The general literature states that Norwegians were involved in woodcutting, running stores, businesses, garages and post office (Bjork, 1974; *Norwegians in Canada*, 1967)(see chapter 2.4.1). The oral history participants listed Norwegian settlers working in these areas as well as in welldrilling (OH #010), grain elevator and oil derrick building (OH #017), millwork (OH #001), blacksmithing (OH #016), fenceposting (OH #014), welding (OH #023), railroading and feedgrinding (OH #023). People of a variety of talents had apparently congregated in Valhalla Centre and worked together, leaving no shortage of people to perform the various necessary tasks to keep the community growing and running smoothly. School teachers, leaders of bands and sports teams, merchants, and volunteers were always available when needed. Women, especially those with their own homesteads, often traded washing and sewing for field work. Many women who came alone went 'out' to work for others until they settled onto their own places (OH #002, 006, 014, 015).

True to the nature of Norwegian communities elsewhere in North America, the structure of Valhalla Centre was based on the fact that Norwegians enjoyed each others' company and therefore tended to settle in colonies (Bjork, 1974; Harney, 1985)(see chapter 2.4.1, p. 39). They liked to work together, visit and take part in social events where they could develop a certain 'camaraderie'

(OH #009). Through oral history references, it was evidently important to the settlers as individuals and as a community to have these activities which they could pursue with diligence and exuberance.

Some participants, however, stated that there was no special mention of being Norwegian; it was an accepted fact that their community was mostly made up of Norwegians (OH #004, 013, 014, 016). There were participants who gave the impression that there were only Norwegians in Valhalla Centre, a view which might have developed if these participants only associated with other Norwegians in the community (OH #013). People of other cultural backgrounds did reside in Valhalla Centre. In fact, some of the participants in the current research were married to non-Norwegians (PART. #008, 010, 017, 021, 029, 031). The Norwegian members of the community were hospitable to the non-Norwegians, treating them with respect and welcoming them into their activities (OH #010). One participant specifically mentioned that the Norwegians mingled with non-Norwegians freely (OH #022). However, another oral history participant stated that there was little interaction between Norwegians and non-Norwegians in the first years of settlement (OH #020).

From the information gathered in the Valhalla Centre research, the Norwegian settler's adaptation to life in the new physical and cultural environment could not be adequately determined. Similar to other Norwegian immigrants in North America, they were faced with providing food, shelter and clothing for their families. It must be assumed that many of them depended on their personal strength of character to persevere. The amount that these characteristics were affected by their cultural heritage was difficult to measure or verify, and is therefore beyond the scope of this research.

Following the pattern of many communities, Valhalla Centre grew and expanded in the 30 years after its establishment (*Pioneer Round-Up*, 1972). Businesses, commercial farming, politics and government bureaucracy increased

(Janssen, 1982; Lovoll, 1984). Many community members eagerly took part in these pursuits, showing genuine concern and responsibility for their community (OH #001, 004, 009, 017, 023).

The general literature noted that the religion, education, social activities and secular organizations remained similar in North America to those in Norway (Janssen, 1982; Lovoll, 1984)(see chapter 2.4.1, p. 40). It was unclear whether this was the case in Valhalla Centre. The Lutheran church activities were similar to those in Norway, with services and confirmation classes conducted in Norwegian until the late 1930s (OH #001, 012, 013). Other Norwegian activities in the church included programs at Christmas and Easter (OH #019).

Little was mentioned by the research participants about the education system in Valhalla Centre. Only some of the social activities and secular organizations in the community were oriented towards Norwegian customs. The reason for this might have been that by the time Valhalla Centre was founded, the people had already lived in the United States and had been separated from Norway for a substantial number of years. Their lives would have changed from what they had been like in Norway.

It was recorded in the literature that the Norwegian people brought many things, both concrete and abstract, to North America (Bjork, 1974; Lovoll, 1984)(see chapter 2.4.1, p. 41). Bjork stated that they brought their cultural heritage with their ideas, values, and material culture. A group's ideas and values are difficult, if not impossible, to identify and measure, and an in-depth study of them is beyond the scope of the research. It was also difficult in this research to verify whether the Norwegians brought these abstract entities unconsciously as stated in the literature.

Bjork (1974), Chrislock (1981) and Lovoll (1984) observe a general decline in overt ethnic activity due to the need to concentrate on survival (see chapter 2.4.1, p. 42). Brunvand (1974) also tells of a lack of overt evidence of

Norwegian ethnicity in the general Norwegian immigrants: an absence of music, narratives, customs, and festivals. The current documentation shows this occurring to a large extent in the formative years in Valhalla Centre (OH #004, 008, 013), but also includes examples of festivals where songs and ballads and other customs were performed and where Norwegian cultural activities still survived.

The Valhalla Centre situation was similar to what Key (1973) noted for the rest of North America - that food, shelter and warm clothing were the first priorities among the immigrants (see chapter 2.4.1, p. 42). According to many participants in the research, there was little time for cultural pursuits; only the essentials for existence could be secured (OH #007, 008, 015). Raising sheep for wool and spinning yarn to knit plain sweaters, mittens, toques, scarves and stockings were necessities for surviving the cold winter and the outdoor work involved. It was not until later that homes and farms were established and settled in Valhalla Centre enough so that cultural activities could be revived. One oral history informant reported that there were no Norwegian activities because the settlers had to work for a living, and were not concerned with clothing of a fancy nature (OH #018).

Contrary to the general trend toward concentration on necessities both in the general literature and in Valhalla Centre, there were some references in the oral histories to a substantial amount of time made for cultural and social pursuits in Valhalla Centre (OH #013). Some informants stated that community residents participated in their own games and sports and had time to get together occasionally for Norwegian whist (OH #005), for sewing and quilting bees (OH #001, 003) and for church activities, even in harsh winters and busy times. One person remembered getting together with family and friends at Christmas (OH #001). Others mentioned social events at Christmas where people would sit together and exchange stories and memories of Norway, speak Norwegian and play Norwegian whist (OH #006). On the contrary, however, some oral history participants recalled very few Norwegian activities (OH #015, 018). One mentioned that there were no chances to get together in groups or to relax (OH #014). Oral history #016 also stated that as immigrants they were always busy with chores and had no time for leisure. These differing accounts revealed differences in the experiences and memories of the research participants.

Almost all Norwegians spoke Norwegian when they came to Valhalla Centre (OH #003, 009, 011). Many people in the community were still speaking Norwegian at Christmas of 1928 (OH #003). English was gradually learned and used as a common language for business and social activities throughout the community. Many children were taught English at school. Through the later years, with the language barrier broken and more business and social exchange between the different cultures, there were marriages of Norwegians to non-Norwegians (OH #004, 021, 022). This helped to break down cultural barriers, even though for some Norwegians, marrying into another culture could mean that they were not involved in as many Norwegian events as they were previously (OH #022). Through this interaction it was evident that Norwegians were not rigid about being culturally exclusive. Similar to the literature, they generally accepted other people and were open to the merging of cultures (Lovoll, 1984).

The use of the Norwegian language decreased in the late 1930s in Valhalla Centre (OH #017). At the time of the current study, Norwegian was spoken among the older members of the community or with visitors from Norway (OH #005, 006, 011). As a rule, however, the language was not used.

Throughout the literature, the Sons of Norway Organization was the one cultural organization which affirmed the right of Norwegians to nurture and cultivate ethnic traditions (Chrislock, 1981; Lovoll, 1984)(see chapter 2.4.1, p. 44). It was already established in North America by the time Valhalla Centre was settled. The formation of a group in Valhalla Centre area was only a matter of following the larger group's mandate and of initiating and developing a similar satellite group.

Sons of Norway Lodge activities included the 17th of May picnic in recognition of Norway's Constitution Day and a bonfire on Midsummer's Eve (St. Hans' Fest)(OH #013, 023)(see chapter 4.1.6, p. 81). *Lutefisk* (cod soaked in lye) and *rømmegraut* (cream porridge) were part of the festivities (OH #013).

Not everyone participated in all of the Sons of Norway activities. Some individuals in the research sample belonged to the organization but did not participate (OH #023). Still others knew of the 17th of May celebration, but did not join in. During "some" years, the 17th of May was acknowledged, but not celebrated (OH #001). Oral history participant #003 often wore her '*drakt*' (folk costume) for the Sons of Norway 17th of May celebration (OH #003, 013, 022). Other Valhalla Centre residents wore Norwegian folk costumes for these events as well.

The activities of the Sons of Norway Lodge ceased during the 1930s and 1940s in Valhalla Centre (Chrislock, 1981)(OH #003). The cessation was due to the world economic depression during that decade and the ensuing shortage of facilities which affected many people. The Sons of Norway recommenced its activities after World War II (1948), but held them further from Valhalla Centre than before. Grande Prairie became the centre for the group's activities, and therefore fewer people in Valhalla Centre became involved with it (OH #001, 003, 020, 021)(see map in Appendix O).

Other activities undertaken in Valhalla Centre were the *Julebukking* (fooling) on New Year's Eve and the annual auction and picnic of the Ladies Aid groups (OH #023). The *Bygdelag* organization, the community district group which was active from 1948 until 1970, was another example of overt ethnic activity (Campbell, 1975). At one of its meetings, Norwegian games and singing were led by one of the community women wearing her Norwegian folk costume (OH #006).

There were accounts in the literature of pressure among the immigrants in North America to let go of 'old world' customs (Ager, 1977a; 1977c)(see chapter 2.4.1, p. 43). The participants in the research sample noted similar accounts (OH #002, 003, 006, 008). Some remembered that there was pressure to conform to those immigrants already settled in Canada.

Textile activities and food preparation were private, indoor enterprises, not often seen or experienced by strangers. Consequently, there was less pressure to change or to abandon these familiar activities. Textile work was done less frequently due to lack of time rather than from pressure to conform. Many Norwegian women kept handwork they had already made in Norway, and often displayed the work in their homes. In the same way, as long as ingredients for Norwegian foods could be acquired, it was common and often most desirable to prepare these familiar foods for their families. The immigrants who kept a farming lifestyle were fortunate to have .inexpensive, homegrown ingredients needed for much of the ethnic cooking and baking done previously in Norway. Norwegian ethnic food items therefore survived in substantial numbers through the years of settlement and growth (OH #004)(see chapter 4.1.6, p. 81 for a full description of the Norwegian ethnic food items). The kinds and amounts of items made varied from family to family, depending on when they came from Norway, where they came from in Norway and their personal tastes. The food of Norway may yet be the closest tie to the inner person and the abstract values and ideas held about their identity with Norway.

Some research informants noted that Norwegians who apparently had the least interest in their Norwegian ancestry also displayed the least amount of Norwegian material culture and practices in their homes, including Norwegian food items (OH #009). Correspondingly, those individuals with seemingly most interest in their heritage, still enthusiastically prepared many of the traditional cooked and baked treats (OH #014). In contrast, a large amount of food preparation did not seem to correspond to a great amount of Norwegian clothing and textiles usage (OH #011, 012, 015). Some of the participants with little clothing and textile artifacts continued to bake and cook Norwegian items to display their Norwegian heritage (OH #001, 002, 004).

Many of the Norwegian cultural activities in Valhalla Centre were similar to those found in the literature. Through them, the Norwegians attempted to hold onto something familiar and at the same time tried to fit into the larger society.

4.6.2 Norwegian Clothing and Textiles

This research specifically investigated the clothing and textiles of the Norwegian immigrants and their descendants in Valhalla Centre, Alberta. It established that some characteristics of these, too, were similar to the general trends in the literature about immigration to the rest of North America.

Bjork (1974) states that Norwegians brought with them a rich cultural heritage: machinery, livestock, cash and other possessions such as clothing, household textiles and equipment (see chapter 2.4.2, p. 44). Little machinery or livestock was mentioned pertaining to the Valhalla Centre experience, and it was often noted that there was a distinct lack of funds except for those borrowed (OH #008). Many of the textile items were brought in trunks and were primarily functional instead of festive or ornamental. In accordance with the literature, the decorative textiles were luxuries that were forced to be excluded from the early years in Valhalla Centre (Chrislock, 1981; Lovoll, 1984). Some interviewees did not remember Norwegian textiles at all, but most interviewees remembered some (OH #002). Two to three decades after Valhalla Centre had been established, interest in historical roots and contact with Norway was renewed. Many of the Norwegian activities were revived and new ones initiated. Some of these activities were different from earlier ones, but were still characteristically Norwegian. One trunk from Norway was included in the research inventory (ACC #015.09). Four similar trunks and chests of drawers were mentioned by participants in the oral histories (OH #007, 012, 021). The trunks usually contained handmade, functional clothing for work and common use, household textiles, and other utensils, tools and equipment (OH #007). Some women also brought special festive garments and special textiles from Norway to keep as heirlooms and to hand down to children in the family (OH #003, 004).

Spinning wheels, sewing machines, knitting machines and knitting needles were items brought from Norway to Valhalla Centre (PART. #007, 009, 011, 021, 030, 038). Looms, however, were too large and cumbersome to transport, and were usually left behind in Norway or the United States. Evidence of looms brought to the United States in the early years of immigration is abundant. There are examples of these at Vesterheim, the Norwegian-American Museum in Decorah, Iowa. There may also be many looms in other parts of Alberta, but none were evident in Valhalla Centre (see chapter 4.6.2, p. 127 for more information on homeweaving).

The general literature states that few immigrant women brought sewing machines to North America (Steen & Hendrickson, 1944). Contrary to this, many participants stated that they and many other women coming to Valhalla Centre brought sewing machines or acquired one there (OH #002, 003, 006, 013, 014, 019). They were used often, and daughters were taught to use them early.

Similar to the general literature, few immigrants in Valhalla Centre owned folk costumes (Brunvand, 1974; Noss, 1987)(OH #002, 012, 014, 017, 020, 023)(see chapter 2.4.2, p. 44). Most families did not own any. Other participants remembered the costumes but could not remember who owned them (OH #004, 006, 013)(see chapter 4.1.1, p. 72).

Norwegians still in Norway were encouraged not to wear folk costumes from their various districts. If they did wear them, they were encouraged to pick up a suit of North American clothing in eastern Canada before coming to western

Canada (OH #002). Oral history participant #008 recalled that those immigrants arriving in Canada in suits of homespun fabric often changed to fine, store-bought suits upon their arrival. Most Norwegian immigrants wore good clothing made of "nice wool material" to come to Canada (OH #002).

Five folk costumes were recorded and documented in the artifact study (see chapter 4.3.1, p. 87). As well, one photograph of a child in costume was located in the visual documentary material (ACC #022.22). Most of the costumes were stored and seldom worn. The adult folk costume from the Setesdal area in Norway was worn on the immigration journey to Canada, but was not worn in Valhalla Centre (OH #003, 010). Two of the interviewees recalled that 'Setesdalings' in general wore homemade clothing which was different from others (OH #001, 010).

The literature tends to suggest that most folk costumes were a revival, and not a survival of an earlier garment (Brunvand, 1974; Noss, 1987)(see chapter 2.4.2, p. 44). When many of the immigrants came to Canada, the revival period for these costumes had already begun in Norway. The folk costumes which immigrants brought to Valhalla Centre were themselves part of the revival movement which were developed from earlier designs and styles, and came over with the Norwegians as part of their material culture.

Participants in the Valhalla Centre research noted that functional clothing and textiles brought from Norway and fitting in with styles in Valhalla Centre were worn, patched, remade and then discarded or sent to factories in Edmonton to be made into rugs or blankets (OH #001, 009, 016, 023). Clothing originally worn as special clothing later began to be worn for everyday use (OH #003, 008). This corresponds directly to the accounts found in the general literature. The participants also agreed that the 'western-styled' dress was worn most often, both for travelling from Norway to North America and in Valhalla Centre itself. Many immigrants came in new suits they had purchased just before they left Norway (OH #001).

Distinguishing new Norwegian immigrants in the Valhalla Centre area was not always easily done. By the time some immigrants reached Valhalla Centre, their families had lived in the United States so long that the separation from Norway was apparent in their clothing; they were no longer distinguishable as Norwegian (OH #004). Some research participants suggested that everyday clothing in Norway did not appear to be different than the clothing in Canada (OH #007, 008). Others noted that clothing from Norway was made of coarse wool, whereas clothing (e.g., overalls) acquired in Valhalla Centre was made of cotton (OH #007, 020, 021). Other participants felt that newcomers from Norway could be distinguished by their hair-styles or their two-colored patterned sweaters and mittens (OH #006, 014, 019, 021)(see chapter 4.1.4, p. 79-80 for a discussion of hairstyles).

Some oral history participants speculated upon ways to currently identify Norwegians. One felt that the only way to recognize them would be to look inside their homes or to look to see if they wore jewellery or sweaters of Norwegian two-colored patterns (OH #011).

According to the literature, old and new customs of the Norwegian immigrants merged, especially in the production and care of textiles (Brunvand, 1974)(see chapter 2.4.2, p. 44). Evidence of this merging was found in Valhalla Centre in the way that spinning, knitting and embroidery techniques learned in Norway were continued, but were used to make simple, functional articles. Much handwork produced in Valhalla Centre was without the intricate patterns they had displayed in Norway (OH #013).

Another good example of this integration was found in the wearing of the silver brooches, *søljer*, which were traditionally worn with the folk dress or national costume. *Søljer* were still worn with the costume in North America, but were also worn with 'western-styled' dresses, suits and blouses.

'Old-world' washing techniques were used on North American clothing until more advanced techniques could be developed. In the literature, the scrub-board was considered part of modern technology in Norway and North America (Kerkhoven, 1986; Semmingson, 1987)(see chapter 2.4.2, p. 45). In Norway it was an outdoor process, used beside the older washing paddle. Many young women who came to the new countries experienced the pleasure of working indoors on the scrub-boards for the first time and considered it quite a treat. This was expressed by those who "worked out" for others in the Valhalla Centre area or took care of their own households (OH #002, 006, 014, 015). It was not determined whether the indoor use of scrub-boards was a practice learned from the immigrants' fellow-Canadians or whether a similar sophistication was occurring in Norway at that time as well. Nevertheless, many immigrants welcomed the hand-worked machines that later came into the homes (OH #002).

Specific clothing and textile artifacts and related activities are often mentioned in the literature (Brunvand, 1974; Steen & Hendrickson, 1944)(see chapter 2.4.2, p. 45). All of these are not necessarily Norwegian in character, but are worthy of mention as part of the immigrant experience. Some immigrants who did produce handwork did not always produce articles of Norwegian handwork (OH #011).

Many oral histories made it clear that there was little Norwegian decoration on clothing other than the few specific pieces already mentioned, and that everyday clothing was not of Norwegian design or decoration (OH #001, 002, 003, 008, 009, 011, 012, 013, 014, 015, 019, 021). Ethnic clothing was generally not worn by rural people, who instead had "fairly uniform, basic clothing habits" (OH #001). One oral history interviewee mentioned that her family dressed "no differently than the German people in the area" (OH #015). The family of one individual tried to dress in the same styles as were "going on here" (OH #013).

Similar to the general literature, carding, spinning and knitting wool was common in Valhalla Centre (Brunvand, 1974; Kerkhoven, 1986; Steen & Hendirckson, 1944)(see chapter 2.4.2, p. 45; 4.1.5, p. 80). A few farm families had from one to 20 sheep, and from the wool, slippers and mittens were knit (OH #002, 003).

Wool processing occurred often during the depression years of the 1930s in Valhalla Centre (OH #003).

Information collected in Valhalla Centre differs with the general literature regarding aspects of the knitting activities of the Norwegian immigrants (Brunvand, 1974; Steen & Hendrickson, 1944)(see chapter 2.4.2, p. 45). Knitting while walking was not mentioned in the Valhalla Centre research as it was in the general literature (Steen & Hendrickson). The only reference to taking the activity out of the home was to bring it to the Ladies Aid meetings. Knitted items referred to in the literature included socks and underwear (Eskrick, 1971; Steen & Hendrickson, 1944). Knitted items mentioned by the participants in the research included socks and underwear as well as mittens, toques, scarves, and sweaters. Norwegian two-colored patterned knitting was still done by some participants from Valhalla Centre (OH #015).

Embroidery, mending and patching were often mentioned by participants in Valhalla Centre (OH #002, 005, 022). Brunvand (1974) mentioned these and weaving, an activity not recalled in Valhalla Centre (see chapter 2.4.2, p. 45). Oral history participants who brought attention to the activity, did so in connection with the practice in the United States or in Norway (OH #001, 003, 007, 013, 014, 015, 017, 018). This also corresponds to Kerkhoven's findings on the lack of homeweaving in Alberta and Saskatchewan from 1879 to 1915 (1986)(see chapter 2.4.2, p. 46).

Crocheting, embroidery and quilting techniques had been learned in Norway and were maintained by some participants (OH #002, 003). Oral history interviewees mentioned auxiliary groups who met for quilting "bees" made quilts to raffle at auctions (OH #001, 003, 005). Individuals also made quilts to sell or give away. Some interviewees had learned the technique in Norway, while others learned it in Valhalla Centre.

Brunvand (1974) mentions ***hardangersaum***, the Norwegian style of embroidery made popular in the Hardanger region of Norway and currently done there and in North America (see chapter 2.4.2, p. 46). He notes that it was continued throughout the 1900s and flourished in recent years due to an increased interest in cultural roots and embroidery styles. This also occurred in Valhalla Centre, and ***hardangersaum*** embroidery was the favorite work of two oral history participants (OH #011, 015). Some of the ***hardangersaum*** pieces located for the research inventory or mentioned in the oral histories were brought by immigrants from Norway. These included such household textiles as table runners, table covers and doilies, and clothing such as aprons and the trim on the blouses of the Hardanger district folk costume. A few ***hardangersaum*** pieces were made in Valhalla Centre just after settlement, or sent after the 1940s from relatives and friends in Norway. Still others were made recently in Valhalla Centre by those who enjoyed doing the work (OH #010). The technique was currently worked both by Norwegians and non-Norwegians (often married to Norwegians) who have a general interest in textile crafts. Not all of these non-Norwegians were interested in this Norwegian activity, just as some Norwegians did not do the work or take an interest in it. ***Hardangersaum*** items currently made in Valhalla Centre included table runners, table covers and doilies (see Appendix N1, N10, N11, N18, N19). Supplies for doing ***hardangersaum*** embroidery, the cotton fabric and thread, were sent from Norway or picked up at stores in Grande Prairie or Edmonton, Alberta or in Prince George, British Columbia (OH #020).

The literature speaks of the prevailing attitude of "no waste" regarding old and used clothing (Steen & Hendrickson, 1944)(see chapter 2.4.2, p. 46). Some interviewees recalled that some articles were patched "so often that there was nothing left of them" (OH #006). Others recalled that they themselves did much of the patching, while mothers or sisters remade clothes and embroidered (OH #001, 013). Although some clothing and textiles were often remade from old garments to be used again (OH #004, 005), or articles were made into rugs and quilts (OH #002, 005), some of the oral history participants also remembered that some clothing and textile articles were discarded regularly (OH #007, 010, 017). One interviewee said that items were handed down many times and then thrown out (OH #001). On the other hand, another interviewee recalled that her mother "made over and made over" the clothes so that nothing was wasted (OH #013). Some old clothing was packed up and sent south to Edmonton, Alberta to be made into blankets (OH #001, 009, 016, 023), or taken to the thrift shop in Hythe (OH #002)(see map in Appendix O).

Individual attitudes toward these worn garments varied substantially. Different references were perhaps due to selective memory, or to the fact that participants assumed that those items that just disappeared were thrown out. Some suggested that they did not remember what happened to used clothing; they thought they might have been reused or thrown away, but not recycled (OH #017).

The Ladies Aid Society was common to many communities on the Canadian Praifies, regardless of their cultural emphasis (*Norwegians in Canada*, 1967)(see chapter 2.4.2, p. 46). In general, the Society was a group of women affiliated with the Lutheran church to help with the mission field and war effort, and to help keep the women of the community busy with handwork. Similar to the society elsewhere, the Ladies Aids in Valhalla Centre (there were a number of groups at different times throughout the history of the community, including Martha Mary Ladies Aid), met on a regular basis to knit socks and mittens, to sew men's shirts and children's clothing and to produce a variety of goods for mission efforts or as sale items for local fairs and auctions (OH #002, 006, 011, 012, 014). Much of the work was not Norwegian, but a little of the *hardangersaum* embroidery was done on pillow cases and cushion covers (OH #006, 011, 012). Some women were involved with the group temporarily while others remained in it "as long as they could see to do the work" (OH #012, 014).

According to the general literature, many families' clothes were made from flour and sugar sacks (Steen & Hendrickson, 1944). Five of the 23 oral history participants in Valhalla Centre mentioned this (OH #003, 004, 012, 015, 019). The interviewees mentioned having dresses, trousers and bloomers made from the dyed or undyed sacks. Some individuals also used them for quilt tops. Flour and sugar sacks might have been used during the depression of the 1930s when money was in short supply and when fabric was difficult to acquire from stores and other places. During this time, mothers often traded butter for fabric and groceries because of the lack of funds (OH #019).

Information collected from the participants in the research was similar to the general literature which stated that the fabric for making much clothing, and the ready-made clothing itself, came from local stores or the mail-order catalogue (Steen & Hendrickson, 1944)(see chapter 2.4.2, p. 47). Two Valhalla Centre stores were mentioned in the research: Olaf Hanson's Hardware Store and Turner's General Store (OH #023). Larson's Store in LaGlace, 22 kilometers east of Valhalla Centre (see map in Appendix O) was also mentioned (OH #005, 012, 013, 015). Most participants ordered clothing and other articles from the Eatons Catalogue (OH #009, 011, 012, 013, 020), while two participants mentioned ordering from the Simpsons Catalogue (OH #004, 010). One participant stressed that his family did not use mail-order catalogues at all (OH #001).

Footwear was another specific item addressed both in the general literature and in the Valhalla Centre oral histories. The literature mentions children going barefoot in summer, and in winter wearing either woolen stockings alone, or socks inside of rabbit skins and 'gunny' sacks (burlap bags) (Steen & Hendrickson, 1944)(see chapter 2.4.2, p. 46). The current research participants stated that, in Valhalla Centre, barefoot children were also a common sight in summer. For winter, they and some of the adults occasionally improvised footwear out of heavy woolen stockings and hide when there was nothing else available (OH #003). Most frequently mentioned, however, were the short cut rubber boots worn over woolen stockings, rubber boots worn alone, felt boots or overshoes. These were also obtained from local stores or the mail-order catalogue.

It was established that there was a definite similarity between the experiences of the Norwegian immigrants as found in the general literature and the experiences of the Norwegian immigrants in Valhalla Centre. The differences found could not be attributed to any specific phenomenon or group of factors. Some differences came from the fact that this community had a unique history, a unique northern physical and cultural environment, and that it was located away from the central core of Norwegian communities in Alberta.

4.7 Objective Seven

To discuss the findings of the research to determine how this community's selected material culture profile compares with current perspectives on and practices in ecomuseums and to assess the potential for the application of éco-musée concepts within the community of Valhalla Centre, Alberta.

This objective relates directly to the third problem statement: How does this community's selected material culture profile compare with current perspectives on and practices in ecomuseums? It is most expedient to discuss each part of this objective separately.

4.7.1 Selected material culture profile

Valhalla Centre's selected material culture, that of the Norwegian ethnic clothing and textile artifacts, is explained fully in chapter 4.1-4.5. This profile includes all those artifacts categorized as follows: (a) no longer in existence; (b) preserved but not in use; (c) preserved and occasionally used; and (d) currently in normal use. The findings revealed a profile of artifacts which existed in Valhalla

Centre previously but were no longer found there, artifacts which were stored as heirlooms and not used at all, those which were currently in storage most of the time but were brought out on special occasions as outward expressions of the individual's Norwegian heritage or identity, and those artifacts which currently existed as part of the contemporary lives of the community residents.

Individuals who preserved the Norwegian clothing and textiles and only brought them out to use on special occasions showed that they valued their Norwegian roots and wanted to preserve their unique and fragile heirlooms. Individuals who used the artifacts daily also displayed their Norwegian roots, but in a way that corresponded with their current lives and was adapted in relation to their own personal perspectives. They viewed themselves as Norwegian and exhibited this by wearing sweaters, jewellery and mittens from Norway and by displaying Norwegian-styled cushions and banners in their homes.

In the first half of the twentieth century, many Norwegians placed little value on their Norwegian culture. They wore few special garments and displayed few textiles in their homes. Renewed interest developed when more contact was made with Norway. Reasonable air and ship passage rates encouraged this contact, as did the awareness of immigrants from other countries beginning to look to their own 'homelands' for historical significance (OH #005, 014, 018, 022). Norwegian manufacturers were producing 'typically Norwegian' items for visitors from North America to take home with them and for Norwegians to send as gifts and souvenirs to distant relatives.

4.7.2 Current perspectives on ecomuseums

Current perspectives on ecomuseums involve the following aspects (see chapter 2.1.2, pp. 18-22):

1. Openness through the interpretation of time, space and ideas

(Dalibard, 1984; Lowenthal, 1985; Querrien, 1985; Rivière, 1985);

2. Dynamics of movement and change in community life within an area (Konaré, 1985; Querrien, 1985);
3. Community involvement in and responsibility for vitality and vision (Dalibard, 1984; Konaré, 1985);
4. Conservation of physical and cultural entities (Rivière, 1985);
5. Quality of life concerns (Heron, 1983).

4.7.2.1 Openness

Temporal continuity is central to the ecomuseum theory of openness. As the literature indicates, an ecomuseum attempts to bring the entire continuum of time together, attempting to merge past, present and future so that aspects of each are part of the whole experience (Dalibard, 1984; Hudson, 1977; Key, 1973; Lowenthal, 1985)(see chapter 2.1.2, p. 18). This characteristic of ecomuseums breaks down the walls between the time frames and allows free movement between them. It thus prevents important facts and feelings of one time period from being 'locked' into that specific time slot.

Spatial openness, an interpretation of the inhabitants, and the natural and physical environment, is an all-encompassing perspective. It borrows from many disciplines and attempts to provide a systemic view of life. It takes into account physical space as well as perceived space within and around a community (Dalibard, 1984; Hudson, 1977; Rivière, 1985). It includes the physical buildings and other objects of present, historical and cultural value, as well as the fields and areas belonging in the realm of the community.

Clothing and textiles, as part of the physical environment, outwardly express individuals and the community at large. These artifacts show how the people of the community have all worked together and continue to do so with available resources. From the perspective of spatial openness, all of the textile artifacts in their various situations are examined and interpreted as part of a whole structure, with their relationships to each other and to the rest of the environment.

One current perspective on ecomuseums concerns the openness of ideas - the freedom and innovativeness to try new procedures and methods (Querrien, 1985). It involves new and unique ways of thinking about the community and society, stretching the imagination and the talents of many community residents, ecomuseum planners and researchers in the field. It causes them to embark on unique journeys for each situation. With this openness, new ideas prompted by the ecomuseum's unique environment are given a basis from which to grow and develop.

4.7.2.2 Dynamics of Movement and Change in Community Life

Querrien (1985) and Konaré (1985) discuss how dynamics of movement and change are current perspectives on ecomuseums which are addressed from each community's experience (see chapter 2.1.2, p. 20). The inner spring of movement and change, and the impetus to maintain it, must come from within the community itself. There must be sufficient interest and power to spur this on. An ecomuseum can be constructed but must be left partly unstructured in order to allow change and to keep it alive. The people of the community should view the ecomuseum as a living entity, constantly changing with and for them, and constantly meeting their needs as well as those of the community as a whole.

4.7.2.3 Community Vitality and Vision

From the current perspectives on ecomuseums, the community must have the inner vitality and vision to make this phenomenon happen within the community (Konaré, 1985; MacCannell, 1976)(see chapter 2.1.2, p. 20). Having the desire, those working toward developing the ecomuseum can implement life enrichment skills of community residents, helping them to increase their self-knowledge and self-awareness and to encourage self-imposed responsibility for their community. The ecomuseum perspectives can also give them a vision - a mirror image of themselves - which they can develop and display to the general public (Rivière, 1985)(see chapter 2.1.2, p. 21).

4.7.2.4 Conservation

Ecomusеums can also involve conservation (Querrien, 1985; Rivière, 1985)(see chapter 2.1.2, p. 21). Areas chosen for the application of the éco-musée concept are often also areas in which artifacts, buildings and cultural activities are of sufficient value to the residents to warrant their preservation. In the ecomuseum, artifacts are in the care of community residents, retained in their original setting for individual or community use. As a conservation centre, the ecomuseum is an open place to work at preserving artifacts that exist with available tools and materials (Rivière, 1985). Individuals are taught the necessary procedures and are continually trained as new items become of concern. As curators of their own collections, the community residents have a role in preserving historical and contemporary artifacts, and thus help to preserve ideas and stories about the community. Through this, the residents are made to feel significant in the life of their community.

4.7.2.5 Quality of Life

The quality of life of community residents is important when addressing the éco-musée concept. It is worthwhile to embark on such an endeavor only to the extent that it will result in the improvement of the life of the people involved. Quality of life indices include the following: language; gentrification; religion and philosophy; economics and trade; fairs and festivals; family structure; social groups; government structure; community legal base. Personal fulfillment and happiness are considered as part of these as well. Tourism, as part of economics and trade, plays an important role in the ecomuseum. Through the production of relevant, marketable products, increased revenue can be encouraged from supportive visitors. Visitors will be willing to pay for concrete reminders of the community and for experiences acquired there.

4.7.2.6 Assessment of Valhalla Centre

Valhalla Centre clothing and textiles profile supported current perspectives on ecomuseums. The oral histories indicated that the people of Valhalla Centre viewed themselves, both individually and collectively, as a significant group. They saw their textiles as a special part of their environment and heritage, and preserved, used and displayed them in a way which expressed themselves, their community and their culture. The practice of bringing the past, present and future together through stories, objects, buildings and people was already evident in Valhalla Centre. They used artifacts from the past together with contemporary ones.

From the perspective of spatial openness, each of the textile artifacts in their various locations could be seen in significant relationship to one another and to the whole community structure. From this perspective, the cushion cover kept on the livingroom couch in the home of participant #025 (ACC #025.02), could be seen in its environment, but could also be seen as part of the collection bequeathed to the family by the husband's mother. Items from the mother's collection of textiles were found not only in this home, but in the homes of participants #010 and #018. These items tied the three families together and recalled the mother's emigration from Norway, her arrival in Valhalla Centre, and her active role in the community. Through this spatial openness, individual artifacts such as this could be tied into the complete social structure of the community.

In Valhalla Centre, the spatial concept incorporated all of the structures associated with the community - historically significant homes and homesteads, stores, the ice house from the creamery, the cemetery, the curling and skating rinks, Valhalla (Molde) school and hall, and all of the material objects, textiles and otherwise, existing throughout the community.

The openness of ideas was evident in the willingness of Valhalla Centre community members to try new methods to revive cultural heritage and awareness. Specific individuals in Valhalla Centre felt that the entire community should feel proud of and responsible for their community. They exhibited this desire to revive Norwegian cultural activities in order to build a community they can live in, learn from and enjoy. Areas needing development were being identified, and many individual memories, important and significant parts of the past, were being recorded and preserved. There was a concern with the general quality of individual and community life, and with the preservation of culture and material culture. From the current research findings, it appeared that these individuals in Valhalla Centre were prepared to meet new challenges with open attitudes and ideas. They held the vision and the vitality to sustain the inner spring of movement needed to keep the community dynamic and changing. Evidence of this was shown in the formation of the Valhalla Heritage Society in May, 1988, and the plans for the development of cultural programs and workshops to revive earlier customs. They desired to purchase one of the first homesteads in the area with the hopes of preserving it and offering Norwegian craft classes, folk-dancing classes and other programs.

4.7.3 Current practices in ecomuseums

Current practices in ecomuseums involve the following aspects (see chapter 2.1.2, pp. 19-22):

1. Preparation of inventories and assessment of location (Querrien, 1985);
2. Alliance of community individuals, heritage professionals and government officials (Dalibard, 1984; Heron, 1983);

3. Development and execution of programs (Heron, 1983);
4. Acknowledged combination of entities (Heron, 1983; Querrien, 1985; Rivière, 1985);
5. Development of community self-awareness (Konaré, 1985; Rivière, 1985).

4.7.3.1 Inventory and Assessment

Current practices in ecomuseums begin by preparing inventories of artifacts, buildings and other historically significant sites in an area (Querrien, 1985). Once the inventories have been completed, the area's history and location are assessed as to their potential for the application of the éco-musée concept. If the inventories and assessment indicate that an ecomuseum is not appropriate or feasible in the specified location, further procedures would not be forthcoming. If, however, an area is assessed as having the potential for the application of the éco-musée concept, further practices are carried out.

4.7.3.2 Community, Professional and Government Alliance

For the successful development of an ecomuseum, the formation of an alliance between government officials, heritage professionals and the citizens within the community is necessary (Dalibard, 1984; Heron, 1983)(see chapter 2.1.2, p. 19-20). The citizens provide the impetus and driving force behind the operation - the programs, research, education and growth - while the professionals and officials exist to facilitate and guide the community efforts. The heritage professionals provide knowledge and assistance, offering planning help by suggesting appropriate methods, while the government officials guide in policy-making and funding.

4.7.3.3 Program Planning

Upon completion of the inventories, the people of the community and those helping to plan the ecomuseum development may meet to decide how to make the ecomuseum as effective as possible through educational and experiential programs, research, exhibits and specific site developments, and through appropriate use of available artifacts (Heron, 1983)(see chapter 2.1.2, p. 20). At the meeting, tentative plans for action may be proposed and considered, and methodological steps laid out. The execution and evaluation of programs may be timetabled.

4.7.3.4 Acknowledged Combination of Entities

One of the current practices in ecomuseums is to ensure that the ecomuseum itself is recognized and acknowledged as the many entities that it encompasses (Dalibard, 1984; Lowenthal, 1985). Many current ecomuseums combine appropriate aspects of a school, learning laboratory, social and cultural development centre, conservation centre, living community and heritage area, tourist visitation spot and area for reestablishing traditions, crafts and art (Heron, 1983; Querrien, 1985; Rivière, 1985)(see chapter 2.1.2, p. 21). It can be any or all of these entities, dependent upon the specific situation. As a conservation area, the ecomuseum acts as a natural and cultural heritage repository. Through the many training sessions, seminars, programs, workshops and other learning and living aids, the ecomuseum community environment can be effective and enriching.

4.7.3.5 Community Awareness

An ecomuseum is planned and programmed with its ultimate purpose in mind, that of leading the individuals and the community into an improved life of the highest quality possible. The aim of the ecomuseum program planners is to increase community members' awareness of themselves and their past and present community through programs and to better equip them to handle the future. In combining all aspects of the ecomuseum, the community can act as a mirror to itself and to visitors (Rivière, 1985)(see chapter 2.1.2, p. 21). Community residents are helped to identify current and potential community problems, and are equipped with this new awareness and confidence in themselves to solve existing problems and to prevent future ones (Konaré, 1985)(see chapter 2.1.2, p. 18).

Through the study of clothing and textile artifacts from an everyday perspective, a simple and unadorned picture of common peoples' existence and the related significance of the common object, is acquired. By maintaining an everyday point of view, outsiders and community residents are provided with an authentic representation with which they can intimately relate.

4.7.3.6 Assessment of Valhalla Centre

The inventory of Norwegian clothing and textiles was only one of the preliminary inventories which would be conducted for the development of an ecomuseum. Through it, evidence of clothing and textile artifacts in Valhalla Centre was obtained which would help interpret the community's story. The clothing and textile artifacts were plentiful even though there was no repository for them in the community. Even though the profile of selected clothing and textile material culture in Valhalla Centre dealt only with the inventory portion of ecomuseums, it was possible to identify how the remaining current practices may be relevant in Valhalla Centre.

The profile of clothing and textiles provided by meeting the first five research objectives compared favorably to current practices in ecomuseums in that there were artifacts which were still in existence which could be preserved and which were significant to the community of Valhalla Centre. The inventory revealed that there were artifacts in each of the four following categories: (a) no longer in existence; (b) preserved but not used; (c) preserved and occasionally used; (d) currently in normal use in Valhalla Centre. The inventory also revealed that these artifacts were important to the past, present and future of the area. Those Norwegian clothing and textiles no longer in existence were still often part of the collective memory handed down from person to person, filling out the entire picture presented to the community. Each artifact told its own small part of the area's history. Without each of these, the story which included all other material culture artifacts, the people and their inner feelings and stories of Valhalla Centre life, would not be complete.

Other aspects of Valhalla Centre culture and material culture should be addressed so that the full potential for the development of the éco-musée concept in Valhalla Centre can be assessed. It was unknown whether the individual members of the community and the community as a whole held the potential to become an ecomuseum. Individuals within the community would need to be approached regarding the necessary changes and developments involved in an ecomuseum. Positive characteristics possessed by the Valhalla Centre community, making it a potential candidate for ecomuseum development, should be addressed to determine which éco-musée concepts would be involved in this application.

Residents of Valhalla Centre were concerned with their cultural heritage and had contacted government officials about the development of programs in the community. They had contacted heritage professionals regarding the potential for ecomuseum development as well. Further liaison meetings were forthcoming, where activities and programs would be planned and developed.

In an attempt to reestablish traditions, Valhalla Centre was already in the process of reinstigating the traditional spinning and needle crafts. Spinning wheels still existed there, and it would therefore not be difficult to reintroduce past activities and create an exciting learning environment for themselves and future generations.

As an ecomuseum, Valhalla Centre could be a conservation centre where each individual took part in the conservation and preservation activities, being trained in basic conservation principles. Individuals would be equipped to care for what they possessed, knowing that they were curators of valuable cultural history belonging to the whole community.

As a conservation centre which looks after the preservation of the past, Valhalla Centre would be able to identify and secure a new vision of its own significance, value and worth. Community residents could preserve the material culture objects around them, the clothing, tools, buildings and fields, so that others could be aware of and appreciate them. Many residents of Valhalla Centre are aware of the rich culture and history surrounding them in buildings, textiles, documents and people. They are working toward preserving all of these. The first Rønning dwelling is one of the buildings being contemplated for development.

In Valhalla Centre, incorporating the current ecomuseum practices could involve a number of additional activities:

1. the park in the centre of the hamlet could be upgraded for tourist use;
2. entrepreneurs and small businesses based on the cultural heritage of the community could be encouraged;
3. talents within the community could be identified and developed;
4. traditional arts such as spinning and embroidery could be reintroduced and new ones such as weaving initiated so that the products could be integrated and sold both inside and outside the community.

These and many more possibilities exist in Valhalla Centre. All of them would help to boost the morale and the economy of the area.

4.7.4 Potential of Valhalla Centre for application of the éco-musée concept

The potential for establishing an ecomuseum in Valhalla Centre can be evaluated on the basis of the following six éco-musée concept criteria (see chapter 2.1.2, pp. 16-22):

1. Validity and worth of life (MacCannell, 1976);

2. Uniqueness (Hudson, 1977);
3. Community awareness, instigation, and determination (Konaré, 1985; Rivière, 1985);
4. Government help and guidance in policy development (Rivière, 1985);
5. Local individuals' and companies' support (Konaré, 1985; Rivière, 1985);
6. Prospects for programs to encourage tourism and economic growth (Heron, 1983; Konaré, 1985; MacCannell, 1976).

From the perspective of clothing and textiles, the current research suggests that the community of Valhalla Centre has the potential to successfully incorporate the éco-musée concept in the establishment of an ecomuseum.

4.7.4.1 Validity and worth of life

Wherever anyone exists, any experience, individual or corporate, is a valid one; every individual, group and community possesses the right to an existence which is significant, important and worthy of note. A valid and significant experience is such because it belongs to the person who experiences it, and who has the right to grasp it, keep it and grow with it. No existence is a carbon copy of another or follows the same codes. Each area or community with its major groups and subgroups has a unique historical experience because it deals with life and its changes and progressions in an individual way. Those people involved are free to embark on any activities that would improve their lives.

The collective memory attests to the unique experience of individuals. The collective memory is the sum of the recollections of people, famous or not, describing their daily world as well as their knowledge, feelings, experiences and capabilities. It is all of their recollections of how they live from day to day with vision, courage and expectation.

Residents of Valhalla Centre and those in the area who used Valhalla Centre as their municipal focus, held their lives, and those of their families and friends, in high esteem. Their collective memory, containing some of the common stories from the past and the present, was important and significant. It was important to preserve, through artifacts and stories, the various themes that followed the community and its residents through their existence.

In the current research in Valhalla Centre, the data were analyzed to determine which artifacts were (a) no longer in existence, (b) preserved but not used, (c) preserved and occasionally used, and (d) currently in normal use. These categories, and the artifacts found in them, could help to determine if this specific community and its material culture could support the application of the éco-musée concept. If artifacts were found only in category (a), then from this specific material culture view the community would not represent a potential community for an ecomuseum situation. It would not possess the continuity of objects or culture to uphold it. Likewise, if artifacts were found only in categories (a) and (b), it would signify that Valhalla Centre did not have potential to become an effective ecomuseum. This would be because none of the objects would be used in the current life of the community and would only contribute to the total picture in a static way. In the case of category (b), the exhibit-oriented museum would be suggested as a more effective alternative. In that way, people could learn about the objects as part of the past with few links to the present. The artifacts would be in exhibit cases instead of in their original setting and situation. If artifactual evidence was found in categories (a), (b) and (c), the potential situation would be that of a living history area, or an "open-air" museum noted in the literature (see Hudson, 1977, chapter 2.1.2 p. 16). Here, artifacts would be shown and occasionally used because of their significance as being "old", but not used daily. They would be brought from their original setting to a contrived one, to be displayed on special occasions for visitors or used to commemorate a specific occasion within the community. The artifacts would show what the past life of the community was like, but would not display its current life.

If, however, artifacts fitting into all of these categories were found, a positive assessment would be made, determining a potential for the application of the éco-musée concept and the development of an ecomuseum in Valhalla Centre. The evidence would signify that not only were the ethnic artifacts in question preserved and used for special occasions to exhibit a past ethnic identity, but that these objects were also incorporated as part of individual and community everyday life, used alongside objects of modern technology and contemporary culture.

Clothing and textiles are a small part of the ecomuseum, and are not sufficient to support the development of an ecomuseum because of all of the other factors that come into play when addressing this complex subject. The inventory of Norwegian ethnic clothing and textiles in Valhalla Centre was a necessary preliminary step. In Valhalla Centre, the findings revealed that Norwegian ethnic clothing and textiles and related articles were indeed found in all of these four categories, with a substantial amount found in the latter category of artifacts currently in everyday use.

Examination of the artifacts found in section 4.5 of the research findings revealed that many artifacts were significant in their current use and value to the people of Valhalla Centre, individually and as a community (see p. 112). Some of the folk costumes (*bunader*), patterned sweaters, mittens and stockings, dolls and flags from Norway, and numerous household textiles - table runners, table covers, doilies, cushions, and bell pulls - were in current use in Valhalla Centre. From this inventory, revealing relevant clothing and textile material culture artifacts, the validity of Valhalla Centre as a potential recipient of the éco-musée concept was established.

No museum currently existed in Valhalla Centre, and the museums in the area, the South Peace Centennial Museum in Beaverlodge and the Grande Prairie

Pioneer Museum, housed little information specifically pertaining to Norwegian settlers in Valhalla Centre (see map in Appendix O). It was established that a small community museum and cultural centre, combining exhibits of artifacts with active cultural programs and educational activities could be relevant to the community and profitable to those individuals living there.

4.7.4.2 Uniqueness

The community of Valhalla Centre had a unique history. It was built around a Norwegian Lutheran church, and was the collective experiences of people coming to an uninhabited place, adapting to a new environment, and exchanging with other cultures. Settlers came from various places in Norway, the United States and Canada and established stores, a sawmill, a creamery and other businesses. Their social activities flourished.

Valhalla Centre grew and developed as support for businesses was put into the community, and then diminished after 1946 as this support was taken away. The story included the reaction of the residents of Valhalla Centre to historical events such as the influx of new immigrants in the mid-1920s, the depression during the 1930s, and the reestablished contact with Norway after the 1940s. It included the history of the Sons of Norway Lodge, once in Valhalla Centre, but now based out of Grande Prairie, and the recent attempts to take away the school and the Co-op Store from the community. The complete history of Valhalla Centre, the cultural, economic and social account, is a combination of these and many other stories.

4.7.4.3 Community awareness, instigation and determination

The amount of community awareness, instigation and determination discovered through the research in Valhalla Centre was a positive indication that an ecomuseum would be feasible in this location. The residents of the community saw themselves as part of an integral structure, each individual a part of the others and together responsible for the survival and growth of the community. They were aware of their beginnings and many traditions they upheld. They were also aware, though, of the possibilities of the future and the need to accept change and development if they were to survive and grow. They knew that in order to do this they must remain together and work with each other.

In 1987, when the area school district wanted to close down the Valhalla School, the community members banded together in a fight to keep the school open. They succeeded in their struggle, kept the school in operation, and subsequently opened a small community library in it run by volunteers from the community itself.

During the collection of the research data between January 11 and February 24, 1988, the community again took action by purchasing the Co-op Store from its owners in Grande Prairie. In this way they kept the store in Valhalla Centre, and currently operated it as a community project.

Community members were currently interested in developing programs in cultural heritage such as weaving, spinning and other crafts, as well as Norwegian baking and folk dancing. They were also contemplating the development and interpretation of other historically significant homes and buildings in the hamlet (see 4.7.3.6 for specific contemplated activities). Valhalla Centre residents wanted to renew their cultural roots and viewed this process as a concrete way of bringing the community back to cultural life. They hoped that by developing these programs, they would have something concrete to offer to their children so they could have something to hang onto and to carry into the future. In order to enable this, and hopefully to enable the application of the éco-musée concept in the community, the Valhalla Heritage Society was established in May, 1988. This Society, and a few key people in Valhalla Centre, were spreading the seeds of these cultural ideas so that together they could prepare the community for this new development. Only if this determination caught on and grew would the ecomuseum potential here be reached.

4.7.4.4 Assistance and guidance in policy development

The instigators within the community, those individuals heading this progressive movement toward the preservation of their community's culture, knew that their enthusiasm did not necessarily equip them with the expertise and guidance to work with policies and government proceedings. The community members knew that seeking government and professional help would save time, energy and finances. Help was sought from government agencies set up to help in such circumstances (i.e., Alberta Culture, Alberta Historical Resources Foundation), and from officials from county, regional, provincial and federal governments. Direction was also sought from experts dealing with the complex and diverse area of ecomuseums and the new museology. These included the Alberta Museums Association, Dr. Peter Heron of the Department of Recreation and Leisure Studies at the University of Alberta, Heather Prince of the Department of Clothing and Textiles at the University of Alberta and others. These professionals could help them to effectively apply the éco-musée concept and guide them in exploring future possibilities.

4.7.4.5 Support of local individuals and companies

The members of the ecomuseum community would also be involved in soliciting local individuals and businesses for financial support, volunteer time, and labor. Additional inventories of material objects and written and oral memories would also be developed. Support for (a) research and development of significant and relevant focal themes, (b) effective organization and dispersal of compiled information, and (c) training of educational and life skills, would be sought by the organizers of the ecomuseum.

4.7.4.6 Tourism programs for economic development

The concepts of tourism and economics are part of the ecomuseum development in a community. These concepts involve community residents' awareness and responsibility to their financial well-being and modernization through the flow of tourists through the community. The vehicle for this community awareness and increased tourism is through programming. Programming is all important to an ecomuseum, and the potential for various kinds of programs and events should be assessed as part of the total assessment of the appropriateness for instigating an ecomuseum. Unless the programming is structured in a viable manner, the ecomuseum will lose its vitality and not change with the community. The potential for various programs of this nature was already being explored in Valhalla Centre. Individual entrepreneurs were instigating activities based on the cultural heritage of the community, while the community was preparing to upgrade the campground for tourist use (see chapter 4.7.3.6, p. 141). The evaluation of these and other programs would provide guidance for future program developments.

4.7.4.7 Conservation

Another concept of the ecomuseum is the relation of conservation and preservation to the community. If organizers ideally desire an 'imperishable' record of the past in Valhalla Centre, they should determine how to achieve this goal realistically. Conserving an 'imperishable' past is an awkward concept and a difficult question that is often left unanswered. The best possible care should be taken to optimize the results of conservation with what is left available to work with.

As a total society, the ecomuseum is not a series of events and activities, but a melting together and conglomeration of all that is found within its boundaries. It is important to determine if the residents of Valhalla Centre view their community in this systemic manner. The people and material objects of the community are vital to the modern society which strives for continuity by clinging to the past and present culture and yet springs forth into the future to seek new experiences. In a constant struggle they on one hand strive to hold onto the past, and on the other hand try to push forward and close the door of the past behind them (Querrien, 1985)(see chapter 2.1.2, p. 22). They are constantly wondering whether to close this door behind them or to leave it open. The community that therefore is assessed as a potential ecomuseum may end up in this state of tension, sensing a backward and forward pulling. This contradictory force may tug at them to move ahead to the future as well as go in a reverse direction. The application of the éco-musée concept involves risk and the vulnerability of community individuals to themselves and to the scrutiny of others. It makes them vulnerable to the waves of change, time and fate. Employing the éco-musée concept is a challenge and a risk, but if individuals are interested in developing a continuity between past, present and future, and if they desire a fulfilling cultural and community life, these are necessary and potentially exciting steps. The advantage to being open to new possibilities is that they, as individuals and as a community, are able to look for new ways to use history to help them grow and develop. To risk what they are is to allow themselves the possibility to be truly alive and to learn and experience all they can.

Valhalla Centre, as a contemporary community, had the desire to preserve the past as well as push ahead into the future. They had the desire to use what knowledge and wisdom they had gained throughout their existence to enrich their current lives and the lives of future generations. It appeared that the community had the potential and ability to cope with the contradictory forces, and that it would be capable of using them to the advantage of their cultural and community growth.

4.8 Objective Eight

To discuss the sources of information and the methods used to retrieve them to determine their effectiveness alone and in conjunction with one another.

A variety of sources were used in the current research. One source was the personal stories and remembrances of the immigrants and their descendants as they discussed the use and production of clothing and textile items. Individuals often described articles worn and used, particular individuals' clothing habits and clothing production. Photographs, books, magazine articles and manuscripts of various origin and type were also used as sources of information, as were examples of preserved artifacts themselves.

Public archives and institutions (i.e., museums) were examined for sources of relevant information, but yielded very few. It was this lack of archival and artifactual evidence in these institutions which forced the researcher to go directly to the people of the community for information on the Norwegian clothing and textiles. There was also a lack of research and documentation of the artifact(s) in the collections.

The methods used to retrieve information from these sources included the following:

1. Conducting oral histories with community residents;
2. Examining books, articles and manuscripts secured from the local Lutheran church, archives and individuals in Valhalla Centre;
3. Visiting museums and archives throughout Alberta;
4. Examining photographs found in books and articles as well as in the possession of individuals in Valhalla Centre;
5. Documenting the preserved artifacts in a visual inventory by measuring, photographing and recording historical information offered by the owner;

6. **Informal visiting with residents of Valhalla Centre.**

The oral histories, as a method of retrieving information, worked well to provide some accurate and comprehensive information. They often, however, did not include references to some of the events or artifacts that were obviously part of the story. There was a tendency for the interviewees to remain on one specific topic and not move from it to other areas relating to the specific research. Some interviewees could not remember exact dates or places, or could not recall artifacts that were worn or used in the early years in Valhalla Centre. Some events and artifacts were recalled with little detail because the interviewees' could only remember vague impressions of them. Another complication was that most recollections did not pertain to specific clothing and textiles or related activities.

Little written and visual information on the Norwegian clothing and textiles of Valhalla Centre was located. Most references found by these methods were meager and only supplemented information found through other methods.

The clothing and textiles artifacts, examined alone, elicited visual information such as dimension, color, material and structural techniques, but required the assistance of the owner to provide provenance and historical information. As Bronner (1985) puts it, objects provide information which supplements and may be distinct from written and oral evidence. He also admits that without all of the supporting material available, the artifact itself is only a skeleton (see literature review, chapter 2.2, p. 25).

The amount of information that the owners were able to provide about the clothing and textile artifacts varied. Some did not know when and from where the artifacts were acquired. On the other hand, some participants could tell when and by whom the artifacts were made, when they were acquired, who used them, and when and for what purpose or occasion they were used. Generally, if there were many artifacts in a single collection, the informants often could not offer as much historical detail about each of the artifacts. Occasionally, the informants' memories confused lengths of time as well as other specific information. This is a common occurrence with many people, and must always be accounted for in this research.

It was not recommended that researchers rely on a single source for information (Bronner, 1985). The memories of people may not always be accurate and the artifacts themselves cannot reveal their complete histories to the researcher. Other official records may be inaccurate, incomplete, or may leave out interesting or important facts about an item or issue.

The combination of the oral histories and examination of artifacts and photographs helped to expand the story created by each of the separate methods. The combination also clarified some of the questions stemming from disparities or oversights of each source. With each of the different sources close at hand, references could be cross-checked against each other and cross-referenced. A more complete picture was achieved when an article, a portion in a family history and another written document could be referred to in the identification and documentation of an artifact, or when the written or visual documentation referred to a specific artifact or group of artifacts. Note is made of only one instance of multiple references in the current research. There were references to the *hardangersaum* embroidered table covers of the Fimrite mother in an oral history (OH #004), a magazine article (ACC #004.80) and a family history (ACC #004.81). In addition, one of the actual embroidered table covers was preserved and included as part of the artifact inventory for the research (ACC #004.01).

All of the methods worked better in conjunction with one another assuming that material was found in each of the source groups. It was important for the researcher to recognize where information potentially overlapped and to search for it through analysis and questions. Through the combination of these methods, the various pieces of the artifact history fit into place and created a more comprehensive picture, although there were still information gaps occasionally.

4.9 Objective Nine

To present the findings of the research to the community of Valhalla Centre, Alberta.

The research findings were compiled and presented to the Valhalla Centre community on June 12, 1988, at an Oldtimers' Picnic at the Homestead Hall, 7 miles north of Valhalla Centre, and on June 14, 1988, in the Valhalla Centre Curling Rink. The Oldtimers' picnic was sponsored by the Valhalla Centre Women's Institute, who organized a horseshoe tournament and a quilt raffle, and provided music by an 'old-time' band. A pot-luck supper was provided for over 150 participants from Valhalla Centre, Hythe, Beaverlodge, LaGlace and Grande Prairie (see map in Appendix O).

The presentation of the findings on June 14 was the first event sponsored by the Valhalla Heritage Society. Beginning at 7:30 p.m., it consisted of a slide presentation of selected clothing and textile artifacts from the inventory and a discussion of the research in relation to the éco-musée concept. Approximately 40 individuals from the community attended the meeting, as well as 10 others from the small communities in the surrounding area (see Hythe, Beaverlodge and LaGlace in map in Appendix O). Twenty-five of those present were participants in the study.

The findings of the research were well received at both functions. Ideas, suggestions and recommendations for further research and for the development of cultural activities were made by a few interested individuals. These ideas included having a complete set of inventory photographs made for the Valhalla Centre community, beginning a small museum somewhere in the community, and having the Valhalla Heritage Society sponsor similar cultural events and develop programs to include spinning and weaving classes as well as other activities such as Norwegian folkdancing. The next scheduled event of the Valhalla Heritage Society was announced as a Heritage Day at the Valhalla Centre school where Norwegian artifacts would be gathered together and displayed to the community. They hoped that this would help increase Valhalla Centre residents' awareness of Norwegian material cultural objects which still existed in the area.

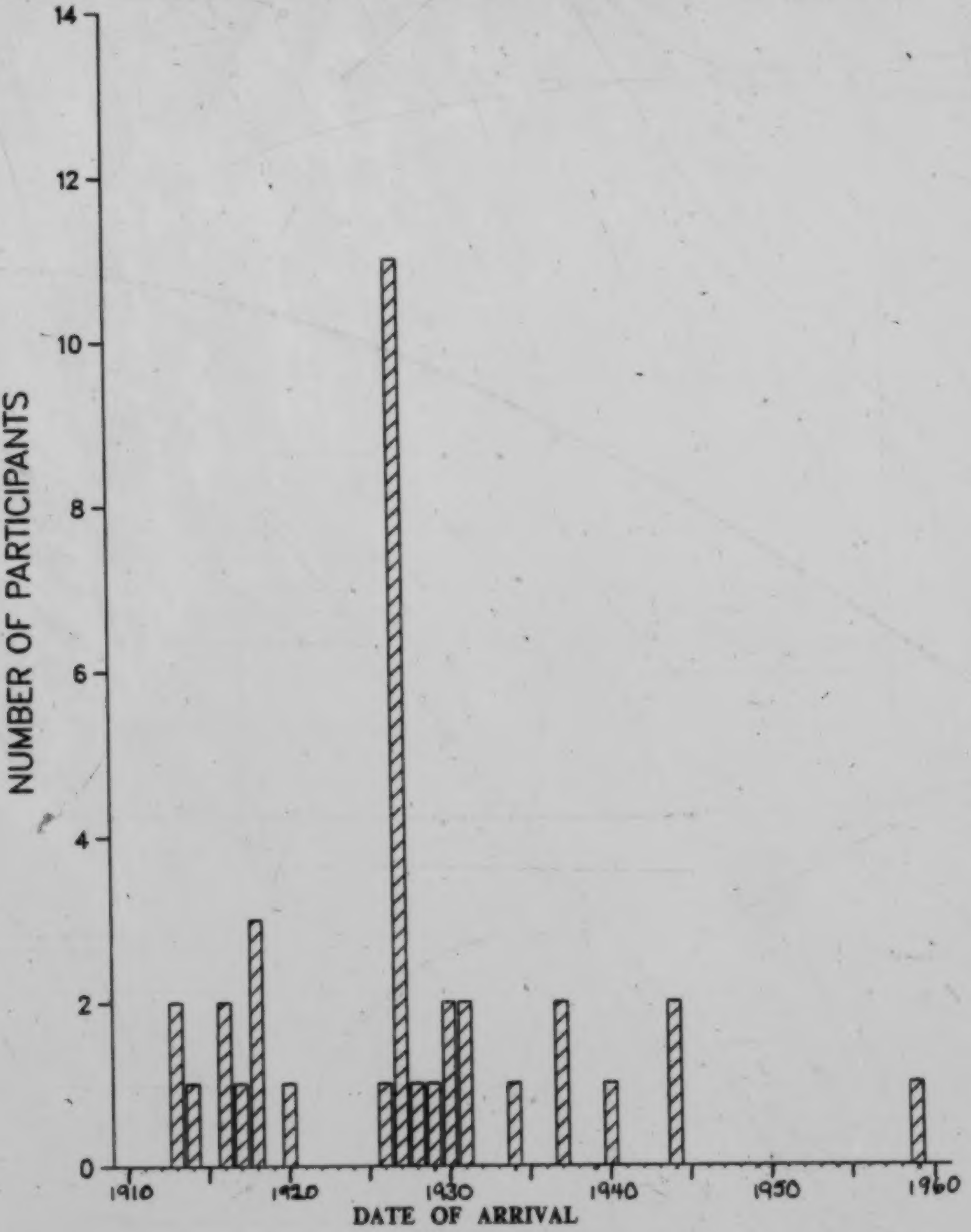
4.10 General Discussion Points: Trends in the Literature

Trends evident in the research in Valhalla Centre included settlement and immigration patterns, the circumstances under which people came, the effect of contact with Norway on Norwegian clothing and textiles, and the attitude of Valhalla Centre residents toward their Norwegian heritage.

There were three apparent periods of settlement within which the experiences and characteristics of the people coming to Valhalla Centre were similar (see Figure 4.5 for a plotting of research participants arrival in Valhalla Centre). The first span of years, from 1912 to 1920, brought Norwegians to Valhalla Centre whose families had originally settled in the United States near the turn of the century (OH #009, 013, 016). Some of these had continued on to south-central Alberta (OH #004, 005, 023). These settlers tended to be second- or third-generation North Americans, who had lost much outward expression of their Norwegian heritage in clothing and household textiles (OH #005). Much of the clothing brought over in trunks to the United States did not survive or was not brought to Canada. Norwegians from the United States were accustomed to living in Norwegian communities and often spoke Norwegian and participated in Norwegian activities. These activities were continued in Valhalla Centre. The Norwegian language and food traditions were often the most well-preserved aspects of their Norwegian culture.

The second period of settlement in Valhalla Centre lasted from 1926 until 1931. These settlers came from other parts of Canada (OH #001, 012, 014, 020), from the United States (OH #008, 011), and directly from Norway (OH #002,

Figure 4.5 Arrival of Participants in Valhalla Centre, Alberta, from 1910 to 1960



003, 006, 007, 010, 015, 017, 021). The largest number of direct immigrants from Norway came during this period, particularly in 1927.

Those coming from Canada and from the United States had similar characteristics to those in the first group of settlers. Those coming directly from Norway often spent some time at a stop-off point in Canada (Winnipeg or southern Alberta) before continuing to Valhalla Centre. Many of the Norwegian immigrants coming at this time had relatives or friends already in Valhalla Centre. By correspondence with them, and by sometimes receiving money for the journey from them, those in Norway were encouraged to immigrate to this location (OH #015).

The amount of clothing the settlers brought with them during this time period seemed to depend on where they came from in Norway and their particular circumstances (i.e., female or male, single or married). Personal circumstances in Norway often determined whether or not the immigrants brought distinctively Norwegian clothing and textiles with them. Norwegians from the Setesdal district were among the few who still wore their folk costumes daily, which would explain why the woman emigrating from this district was the only one recorded in the Valhalla Centre research who wore her costume to Canada (OH #003).

Norwegians arriving in Valhalla Centre in this time period seemed to be aware of the richness of their Norwegian clothing and textiles, and therefore tended to bring many with them, even though they were discouraged from doing so by acquaintances already in Canada (OH #004, 014, 022). These people often retained their ties with Norway by letter and/or by visiting, and continually gathered together articles of clothing and household textiles as their cultural wealth.

More traditional clothing and textiles were being produced in Norway and brought with immigrants to Canada (OH #004). At that time in Norway, manufacturers began to realize that these objects were special to Norwegians in North America and that they wanted to display them and share them with others.

The manufacturers therefore developed items that would remind people of Norway. These manufactured items denoted Norwegian life and culture, emphasizing the rural life of the people. At the time of the research in Valhalla Centre, such items were currently being produced.

The literature states that after the second major period of immigration, the movement of Norwegians to North America did not again reach such extremes (Bjork, 1974; *Norwegians in Canada*, 1967)(see chapter 2.4.1, p. 40). This was supported by the research with information about individuals and families who came to Valhalla Centre in the third period of settlement from 1930 to 1960 and later (OH #022). Fewer people came to Valhalla Centre in this period than in previous periods. In many cases, they came to Valhalla Centre from south-central Alberta; Camrose, Tofield, Ryley and Holden were communities of heavy Norwegian settlement (OH #018) (see map in Appendix O). Living in these areas, the settlers had already had time to become familiar with Canadian life and environment. The communities in south-central Alberta retained some Norwegian activities and the use of the Norwegian language in a similar way to those in Valhalla Centre. They retained many Norwegian baking and cooking traditions which they later brought to Valhalla Centre. Very few, however, retained Norwegian clothing or textiles except for perhaps a silver brooch (*sølje*) or two-color knitted sweater.

The amount of household textiles brought by people coming to Valhalla Centre during this third wave of settlement was not consistent. The number of items brought by specific individuals or families varied from none, to a few, to many, and many of the textiles brought had been recently acquired from Norway.

It was interesting to note the demographic and other personal circumstances of the participants who came in each of the three time periods. Of those Norwegians in Valhalla Centre who came in the first wave, two came alone (OH #009, 023) while two came with their families (OH #004, 013). In the second wave, six immigrants came alone (OH #002, 003, 007, 008, 010, 017), two came with their spouses (OH #014, 015) and four came with family members (OH #006, 012, 019, 021). In the final wave, one came alone (OH #022) and one came with family members (OH #018).

Contact with relatives and friends in Norway was apparently related to the amount and type of Norwegian clothing and textiles which belonged to families in Valhalla Centre. Data analysis showed that where there was regular contact with Norway, either through letter or visitation, there was a substantial amount of Norwegian ethnic clothing and/or textiles found in Valhalla Centre homes (OH #002, 013, 014, 015). The majority of these articles were household textiles such as table covers and bell pulls, but sweaters and mittens were also found. There were cases, however, where no textile artifacts were acquired while in Norway (OH #017), or where none were sent from Norway in spite of contact with relatives there (OH #022).

Where little contact was maintained with Norway, little evidence of Norwegian clothing and textiles was found (OH #019, 020). Some participants in the research maintained vicarious contact through children, grandchildren or a husband's family (OH #019). This lack of contact was often accompanied by a lack of enthusiasm for other Norwegian activities, including cooking ethnic food, speaking Norwegian and attending Norwegian social functions sponsored by Norwegian organizations or the community. One exception to this pattern, however, was when an individual or family made a later trip to Norway (OH #005, 009, 018, 020). Returning to Norway created more interest in their Norwegian heritage and made it more visible and concrete to them. Between 1950 and 1980 there was a general renewed interest in cultural heritage. Many immigrants and their descendants returned to the country where they, their parents, or grandparents came from. Many first time visitors to Norway were impressed by the rich culture and history, and intrigued by the ethnic items available, especially the popular folk costumes. Many returned to Canada with items for themselves and for others (OH #018, 022). The clothing and textile items brought from Norway to Valhalla Centre included two-color patterned sweaters, mittens and gloves, and jackets, as well as kits for embroidered cushions, bell pulls and table runners. Other favorite items brought back to Canada were pieces of jewellery, particularly silver brooches (*sølјer*), dolls in Norwegian costumes and Norwegian flags on silver stands. Few brought folk costumes (*bunader*) back to Valhalla Centre.

In the case of some Valhalla Centre residents, it was only after these trips and this exposure to contemporary Norwegian culture that textile evidence of Norwegian heritage was found in their homes. In some homes the textiles were numerous, while in others there were only one or two items hanging on a wall or one sweater stored for special occasions (OH #011).

For a period of time after the Valhalla Centre residents visited Norway, some of them received gifts from friends or relatives they had established contact with. Articles were sent to them for Christmas, Easter, or for birthdays. Those who visited Norway as tourists, making no family connections, received little after returning from their trip.

Norwegians in Valhalla Centre reflected their attitudes toward their heritage through their attitudes towards Norwegian clothing and textiles (see chapter 4.1.6, p. 81-82). Some participants felt that they should use whatever they owned in order to show that they valued them. Some participants regarded the artifacts as special, and therefore not to be used. Others kept bequeathed items in drawers upon the assumption that they were not theirs to use, but were to be handed down as heirlooms within the family. Some research participants did not pay special attention to the textiles and clothing that they owned because they held no special significance for them. With still others, Norwegian items were commonplace, just as their Norwegian heritage was a common part of them, and lived daily without conscious effort. Those participants who considered the Norwegian clothing and textiles precious exhibited one or two on the walls of their homes and wore the clothing items for special occasions, taking special care of them between usages.

It could not be determined from the research if the attitude toward clothing and textiles depended upon the age or gender of the individual being interviewed or owning the artifacts. It could also not be determined whether the older participants cherished the Norwegian textile artifacts more than the younger participants. There were no specific trends in the research toward one group or the other. The attitudes toward Norwegian clothing and textiles was apparently a complex combination of factors including how the individuals had been brought up, when they came from Norway, where they came from in Norway and the customs and traditions they had there. The attitude of the individual's family, as well as their own experiences and personalities, also affected how they regarded the items.

The preceding trends and attitudes were all derived from information from the research participants and from the time spent visiting and discussing the artifacts in informal settings within the Valhalla Centre community. The responses were the participants' own perceptions and experiences. They had placed their own feelings and values on the clothing and textiles, and it was these feelings and values which were picked up and brought out in the research discussion.

5. Summary, Conclusions and Recommendations

5.1 Summary and Conclusions

The selective case study and inventory in this research provide a description and analysis of the Norwegian clothing and textiles of Valhalla Centre, Alberta, and explore the potential for application of the éco-musée concept there. The éco-musée concept has been implemented in Canada in recent years, with an increasing number of prospective sites assessed for this type of community lifestyle in the development of an ecomuseum. The study of the significance of ethnic clothing and textiles to community residents, as heirlooms or as part of their everyday lives, aids researchers and heritage professionals to determine the ecomuseum's feasibility within the community.

The Norwegian ethnic clothing and textiles found in Valhalla Centre were a significant part of the community. Though the community currently consisted of people of many different backgrounds, Norwegians were still a major part of the whole community. They continued to play an important part in the multicultural experience, displaying their unique heritage in their lifestyle and material culture.

The role of Norwegian ethnic clothing and textiles in Valhalla Centre, as part of material culture, was explored a) in the lives of individuals who own them, whether Norwegian or not, b) in the internal life of the community, and c) in the external, public life of the community, that is, the community's relations to outsiders and the concrete objects displayed to outsiders.

In the lives of individuals in Valhalla Centre, the Norwegian ethnic clothing and textiles varied in purpose. Some of the artifacts held little or no significance for their owners and were regarded as common articles by them. They were not special to the individuals because they had possessed such articles all of their lives. Some Norwegian clothing and textiles were moderately significant to their owners. The clothing and textile articles were different because they were brought or sent from Norway. The owners kept them, stored or used, and also retained a special emotional attachment to them. To some of the participants, especially emigrants from Norway, the Norwegian clothing and textiles were very special and held strong symbolic ties to Norway. The artifacts symbolized their past life in Norway, their move to the new land and their life in Valhalla Centre.

The presence and use of Norwegian ethnic clothing and textile artifacts were significant throughout the history of Valhalla Centre. The artifacts were included in the possessions brought directly and indirectly from Norway both with the founders of Valhalla Centre and with those who were constructive in maintaining community life in the area. The realization that these artifacts existed gave the community a stronger tie with their past, and also with Norway. Artifacts were also acquired from Norway in later years. Receiving artifacts from Norway brought the community closer to its cultural background in Norway. Although daily life often went on without specific reference to the Norwegian clothing and textiles, the knowledge of their presence, and the loss felt if they were to be taken away, was crucial. Many people wore Norwegian sweaters and mittens daily or for special events, and also used silver brooches for adornment when dressing up. Special occasions called for special clothing such as the folk costumes.

The external, or public, life of Valhalla Centre was limited to a few visitors and travellers and to visits of community residents to other communities. There was little that visibly identified a community resident as coming from Valhalla Centre, but by wearing a Norwegian-styled sweater or toque, the individual's Norwegian heritage was displayed and the viewer was often aware that the wearer was of Norwegian background. Although some Valhalla Centre residents wore Norwegian ethnic clothing in public to display their Norwegian heritage, most wore clothing that they were used to and liked. It was coincidental that in some cases, this clothing was of Norwegian ethnic design.

From this research in Valhalla Centre, it was evident that the Norwegian ethnic clothing and textiles found there were significant to the residents of the community. It was also evident that the clothing and textile artifacts were crucially related to the other material culture artifacts and to the community's cultural life. The Norwegian clothing and textile artifacts were an enduring expression of the heritage of those who left Norway to begin a new life in Alberta and who struggled to maintain aspects of their life in Norway while adapting to new customs and habits in the new land. Also, descendants of the immigrants expressed their heritage through the use and display of objects recently acquired from Norway.

Based on oral histories, written and visual documentary sources, and surviving artifacts, it was established that Norwegian ethnic clothing and textiles did exist in Valhalla Centre, Alberta, and that these clothing and textiles were (a) no longer in existence, (b) preserved but not used in the community, (c) preserved and occasionally used for special events in the community, and (d) currently in normal use in Valhalla Centre. The research revealed Norwegian clothing worn by some individuals within the community and Norwegian household textiles displayed in the homes of Valhalla Centre residents.

Through analysis of the collected data, it was determined that the experiences of the Norwegians settling in Valhalla Centre were similar to those of the Norwegians generally immigrating to North America. Except for differences in unique community history and physical location, many changes and adaptations made by Norwegians in Valhalla Centre were made by Norwegian immigrants elsewhere on the continent.

The methodology used in the Valhalla Centre research, that of the combination of a variety of complementary methods, was successful and effective. The use of private sources within the community was more effective than the examination of the holdings of public institutions in that (a) more relevant information was obtained on specific Norwegian clothing and textiles and textile activities, (b) Norwegian clothing and textiles still in use could be documented, and (c) personal response and involvement of community members in the research was encouraged. It was determined that this type of procedure is necessary for research of this material nature and scope (see chapter 4.8, p. 152).

Finally, through analysis of the Norwegian ethnic clothing and textiles found in Valhalla Centre, it was assessed that, in this significant aspect of their material culture, this community holds the potential for the application of the éco-musée concept and for the development of its own unique ecomuseum. The community's selected material culture profile, as well as the general history and character of the area, fits in with current perspectives on and practices in ecomuseums. The residents of the community have the initiative and the determination to work with such a proposal, and have access to the expertise and guidance of heritage professionals in order to make the endeavor successful.

5.2 Recommendations

Recommendations for further research fall into six categories. The first category includes research specific to Valhalla Centre and the development of an ecomuseum. The second category deals with Norwegian ethnic clothing and textiles research in North America and Norway. The third category includes recommendations for research in Norwegian emigration/immigration and ethnicity, while the fourth makes recommendations for further material culture studies. The fifth category includes recommendations for development of ecomuseums in Canada, and the sixth category makes recommendations on the methodology used in the research.

5.2.1 Valhalla Centre Research

Recommendations for research in Valhalla Centre are divided into three sections:

5.2.1.1 Clothing and textiles research;
5.2.1.2 Developmental steps toward and ecomuseum;
5.2.1.3 Museological development of the general area.

5.2.1.1 Clothing and Textiles

1. Norwegian ethnic clothing and textile artifacts from this study should be traced to their origins in Norway to establish whether those artifacts found in Valhalla Centre are common or uncommon in Norway and to determine if the difference in location and environment affected their production and/or use.
2. Norwegians who have left Valhalla Centre should be traced and oral histories and artifact inventories conducted in order to acquire a more complete picture of the Norwegian clothing and textiles produced and used in Valhalla Centre.
3. Clothing and textile artifacts which have left the Valhalla Centre community should be traced and inventoried.
4. Clothing and textile artifacts no longer in existence in Valhalla Centre should be researched locally and in Norway to broaden the knowledge of these articles.
5. The general non-Norwegian clothing and textiles of Valhalla Centre should be inventoried and analyzed in order to establish what proportion of the total number of clothing and textile artifacts within this context are Norwegian.
6. The overall cultural and physical environment of Valhalla Centre should be examined to see how the Norwegian clothing and textile artifacts fit into the whole story and how they can be interpreted as part of it in an ecomuseum.

5.2.1.2 Ecomuseums

Included in this section are recommended inventories, evaluations and assessments of the community, planning procedures, program development and evaluation, and training and management procedures.

5.2.1.2.1 Preparatory Inventories and Research

1. Research should be carried out in Valhalla Centre on the further development of the clothing and textile artifacts and their use in an ecomuseum situation. Specific artifacts could be studied in more depth and detail to provide a more comprehensive picture of selected artifact types. Comparative studies on these artifacts should also be carried out in Norway to determine the differences in the production, use and value of these artifacts between these two countries.
2. Other aspects of the material culture of Valhalla Centre should be researched, creating more inventories and proceeding toward the assessment and establishment of an ecomuseum. Material culture objects recommended for study include , wooden items such as bowls, spoons, various containers, painted chests of drawers, trunks and other household objects related to food preparation and other activities, Norwegian crystal vases, candlesticks as well as curiosities of pewter, and musical instruments. 'Souvenir' items such as wooden and carved matchboxes, carved and painted figurines and plates could also be included. Similar research could also be conducted on these objects in Norway to compare their production, use and value there with those in Valhalla Centre.
3. Buildings, sites (i.e., cemeteries and fields) and other immovable structures in Valhalla Centre should be inventoried in order to establish their place in the development of an ecomuseum.
4. Relevant letters, photographs and other written and visual documentary sources should be traced and researched in Norway through information from Valhalla Centre residents.

5. Written and visual documentary sources from museums in the Valhalla Centre area should be examined and documented for information on non-textile-related activities. These could include church records, business meeting minutes and private transaction books. These records would be useful in developing the program of an ecomuseum.
6. Land claims, settlement patterns and land exchange patterns in Valhalla Centre should be examined to determine the interrelationships between the land and the people. These documents could be used as interpretive tools in the development of an ecomuseum.
7. The history of the business community of Valhalla Centre should be researched to be used as a tool in the development and interpretation of an ecomuseum.
8. The following non-object aspects of Norwegian culture in Valhalla Centre should be researched: The use and retention of the Norwegian language; food and food practices; folklore and stories; festivities and celebrations; songs and music. Similar research could also be conducted in order to determine the differences in preservation patterns between Norway and Canada.

5.2.1.2.2 Planning

1. Appropriate methods should be tested and administered to determine the current level of self-knowledge and self-awareness of Norwegian culture among Valhalla Centre residents.
2. Levels of community responsibility, openness to change and freedom to adapt to new ideas of Valhalla Centre residents should be measured, through participant observation and other methods, to determine the feasibility of an enduring, dynamic ecomuseum in the community. Specific quality of life concerns such as language, religion and philosophy, economics, family structure and social groups should be examined.
3. The value and conscious/unconscious use of Norwegian objects in Valhalla Centre

should be examined to determine the residents' abilities to recognize Norwegian characteristics in objects.

4. Research should be conducted to establish the impact of an ecomuseum in Valhalla Centre. This research should be presented to the residents for their perusal so they could prepare for the future through planning.
5. The Valhalla Heritage Society was established in May, 1988. This organization should seek liaison with heritage professionals and government officials to aid in the planning and programming of the ecomuseum in Valhalla Centre.
6. Heritage professionals and government and agency officials should visit Valhalla Centre to familiarize themselves with the community and to meet with the Valhalla Heritage Society to help guide planning and to offer advice.
7. Research should be conducted to determine which of the following entities should be incorporated into the Valhalla Centre ecomuseum: school; laboratory; social and cultural development centre; conservation centre; living community and heritage area; tourist visitation spot; area for reestablishing traditions, crafts and art.
8. Specific programs and activities should be planned and executed in Valhalla Centre. These could include craft, baking and folk dancing classes, as well as Norwegian language lessons and heritage festivals.
9. The community of Valhalla Centre should solicit funds from sources such as Alberta Culture, Alberta Historical Resources Foundation and the Alberta Museums Association. These solicited funds could also be put towards (a) research and development of significant and relevant themes to be used in the ecomuseum, (b) the effective organization and dispersal of compiled information in exhibits, interpretive sites and programs, and (c) training community residents in the work of conservation and management, exhibit preparation and the educating and delivering of life skills to others.
10. Educational programs and awareness activities should be developed in Valhalla

Centre to encourage community involvement and responsibility and to develop life enrichment skills of community residents. These could be offered through government agencies, by heritage professionals or by community residents sharing knowledge with each other.

11. Tourism in Valhalla Centre should be encouraged through the production of area- and culture-specific baking and crafts as well as through other community development (e.g., fixing up the Valhalla Centre park and campgrounds and charging fees to camp there, offering courses in various crafts and baking, and charging for participating in various ethnic activities). Funding assistance should be sought from Alberta Government agencies such as Travel Alberta.
12. Current and potential community problems should be examined and analyzed so that positive solutions and alternatives may be found.
13. Evaluation procedures should be developed to allow Valhalla Centre residents to assess the development and progress of each of the ecomuseum programs in the community. Through these the community residents can be equipped for self-evaluation and can plan with a purpose in mind.

5.2.1.2.3 Training

1. Courses, workshops and seminars should be made available to the Valhalla Centre residents to increase awareness of (a) the possibilities of the ecomuseum, (b) the responsibilities involved in developing and maintaining an ecomuseum, and (c) the necessary planning and evaluating to be conducted and maintained.
2. Valhalla Centre community leaders should travel to existing ecomuseums throughout Canada and Europe to study the principles and the possibilities of the éco-musée concept.
3. Valhalla Centre community residents/leaders should be trained in the development and management of community repositories and archives to build up and maintain their own collections which can be accessible and useful to members of

the community and to visitors.

4. Valhalla Centre residents should be provided with training courses, manuals and reference material in conservation and management. By having access to information in the Valhalla Centre repository, residents would preserve, develop, operate and manage the ecomuseum in their community.
5. Community residents should be trained to conduct oral histories, produce videos and catalogue artifacts to keep the flow of information consistent and to equip them to continue to collect valuable heritage information from individuals within the area.
6. Community residents should be trained in photography and exhibit display techniques to help in the production and maintenance of exhibits and archival documentation in the community.
7. Valhalla Centre residents should be provided with training workshops in curatorship and general conservation to give them a knowledge of the basic principles of the discipline, the necessary procedures for preventive conservation, and specialized procedures for specialized conservation areas. Conservation tools and equipment should also be made available to the community in order to execute the conservation work. Professional conservators should be brought in to guide the Valhalla Centre residents where possible and to do the work when necessary.

5.2.1.2.4 Management

1. A permanent repository should be developed in the Valhalla Centre community to house the copies of the oral history tapes and other related materials, as well as the materials needed for the development of programs and events related to the cultural heritage of the community.
2. A community museum and cultural centre, combining exhibits of artifacts with active cultural programs and educational activities would be relevant to the

community and profitable to individuals living in Valhalla Centre.

3. Funding should be solicited for the duplication of the oral history tapes and finder's guides from this research to have copies placed in the Provincial Archives, the Valhalla Centre community repository, and in repositories in other local communities. Similar action should be taken to provide these places with a selected artifact inventory list including a number of the research inventory photographs for reference. In the event of such action, permission should be sought from subjects in Valhalla Centre, Alberta.
4. A complete set of inventory photographs should be duplicated and housed in the Valhalla Centre repository for access by community individuals and researchers.
5. A log book/schedule should be developed and maintained in Valhalla Centre to record cultural activities and community events, and to record progress made in the ecomuseum development.

5.2.2.3 Area Development

1. Studies similar to the current one should be conducted in communities around Valhalla Centre such as LaGlace, Hythe and Beaverlodge to establish an overall view of textiles in this area.
2. Future oral histories, using both audio- and video-tapes, should be conducted with most elderly people from Valhalla Centre.
3. Liaison with other museums in the Valhalla Centre area, including the South Peace Centennial Museum in Beaverlodge and the Grande Prairie Pioneer Museum, should be established to allow the interconnection of their Norwegian artifacts and information. In this way, the Norwegian cultural component of these communities would be linked and strengthened.

5.2.2 Norwegian Clothing and Textiles

1. A complete artifact inventory of the Norwegian ethnic clothing and textiles in Alberta should be conducted in order to provide an overall view of these artifacts in the province and to provide an established base from which to (a) conduct thematic research on specific artifacts, (b) prepare stationary and mobile artifact exhibits and interpretive instruments, and (c) establish a systematic network between Alberta museums and individuals through which artifacts and information can be channeled and processed.
2. Norwegian ethnic textile activities in Alberta should be surveyed to establish their locations and instances. Through this research, individuals or communities interested in establishing similar activities could have access to ideas and techniques already developed. Specific research in this area should include a survey of weaving and spinning currently done in the province.
3. Agricultural fair records and prize lists should be examined for references to Norwegian clothing and textiles and related activities (see Kerkhoven (1986) for appropriate methodologies).
4. Norwegian two-colored patterned sweaters should be investigated in Norway. Contemporary styles and methods of production could be compared with those traditionally produced.
5. Research should be conducted in the United States in the areas of traditional folk costumes, everyday clothing, utility and decorative household textiles and textile techniques.
6. Research should be conducted in Norway in the areas of traditional folk costumes (particularly those previously unstudied, i.e., northern costumes), everyday clothing, utility and decorative household textiles and textile techniques learned to create these objects. The lack of first-hand evidence of these artifacts in North America necessitates that the research investigation focus on their origin. Through oral histories, examination of written and visual material

and documentation of surviving artifacts, the conditions of production and use of artifacts and the continuation of activities in Norway could be determined.

5.2.3 Norwegian Immigration

1. Through further research of non-textile-related artifacts and activities, a more in-depth comparison between the situation in Valhalla Centre and general Norwegian immigration and acculturation in North America should be performed. This research would help determine which aspects of culture have a strong impact on adaptation and change within a community and within an ethnic group.
2. A similar case study and artifact inventory should be conducted in Norwegian communities in south-central Alberta in order to provide a selected material culture profile in those areas which can be compared with that in Valhalla Centre and in order to establish the effects of immigration to Canada on the clothing and textiles of these people. Communities which could be studied include Camrose, Wetaskiwin, Tofield (Bardo), Holden, Ryley, Bergen, Eagle Hill and New Norway.
3. A similar case study and artifact inventory should be conducted in communities of other ethnic origin in Alberta to provide selected material culture profiles which can be compared with those of the Norwegian communities.
4. Research should be conducted to establish whether the changes and adaptations in the clothing and textile practices in Valhalla Centre were a process of acculturation and assimilation or were a product of the time with simultaneous changes and adaptations occurring in Norway.
5. Liaison between Canadian, United States and Norwegian museums and researchers should be developed and maintained to share the information collected on Norwegian ethnic clothing and textile artifacts and their practices of use. Similar

research should be conducted in Norway using the Norwegian Emigrant Museum in Hamar, the Valdres Folk Museum in Fagernes and the National Costume Association in Fagernes as reference museums. Museums in the United States such as Vesterheim, the Norwegian-American Museum should also be used.

5.2.4 Material Culture and Ethnicity

1. Research should be conducted in specific communities in Alberta to compare textile-related activities to non-textile-related activities. Their effectiveness in portraying community ethnicity both internally and externally should be examined.
2. Material culture study models referred to in the review of literature research did not adequately prepare the researcher for what would be found in the community. These models should be analyzed further to establish their effectiveness in this type of overview research.
3. More artifact inventories should be conducted in order to revise and improve the data collection sheets for use in further multiple method research.
4. More work needs to be done to relate the material culture of a community with its non-material cultural life. This could be accomplished by conducting more oral histories and by spending a longer time in the community as a participant observer.

5.2.5 Ecomuseums

1. The potential for ecomuseums in a variety of locations in Alberta should be explored and encouraged by the Alberta Government and the Alberta Museums Association.
2. Liaison should be created between existing and potential ecomuseums in Alberta and ecomuseums in other parts of Canada and elsewhere to maintain high

standards and to create new possibilities for each of them. The ecomuseums can learn from each other and help each other to keep abreast of this growing and changing phenomenon.

3. Programs and planning processes should be shared between the ecomuseums of Alberta and the rest of Canada to avoid problems and to learn from each others' failures and successes.
4. Programs should be developed to increase general public awareness of the ecomuseums in Alberta and Canada so that people could know of the touristic and cultural value of the ecomuseum community.

5.2.6 Methodology

Various procedures worked well in the research in Valhalla Centre, and others that were not as successful. The data gathering process had its positive and negative aspects, revealing that there are limitations of researching in a community in this way. The solicitation of participants through letter was one of the unsuccessful areas of the research. Because the researcher was unknown and from a large institution, the community residents were hesitant to 'get involved'. When the introductory letters from an anonymous researcher at an institution did not meet with good response, the researcher travelled directly to the community and contacted individuals. Making direct personal contact was successful in this case.

1. Researchers doing similar work should make prior contact with the community through an individual or organization which the community residents respect and know, and through whom/which they could associate the research.
2. In further research, researchers should make prior visits to the areas to be studied to get an idea of what exists there and what kinds of information will be obtained.
3. It was difficult to know how to classify the objects and the oral histories and

to avoid redundancy in recording. Further research should be done to develop these procedures.

4. Further research should be conducted using oral histories to gather information which distinguishes more explicitly between events occurring in specific places, i.e., Canada, the United States or Norway.
5. Video-recording should be attempted in this type of research to capture the gestures of the informants and also to get a better understanding of the artifacts. Film interviews should be conducted with the elderly residents from Valhalla Centre to preserve their memories. Videos should be made of the use of textile tools such as spinning wheels and the textile processes such as embroidery and knitting.
6. The inventory procedures should be expanded by surveying different sources of information while documenting the artifacts.
7. Further research combining information taken from oral histories, written and visual documentary sources and artifacts should be done to (a) develop the effectiveness of data collection methods, (b) develop the integration of the methods used to extract information from these sources, and (c) develop the supplementary character of the collection process to discover how each method can best complement the others.
8. The culture and material culture of Norwegian communities in Alberta should be researched and documented by the public repositories to provide interpretive information for the general public and other researchers.

6. Bibliography

Danish immigrant homes: Glimpses from southwestern Minnesota. (1986). (Misc. Pub. No. 38). University of Minnesota: Agricultural Experimental Station.

Norwegians in Canada. (1967). *Citizen, 13*(4), 12-22.

Pioneer round-up: A history of Albright, Demmitt, Goodfare, Hythe, Lymburn, Valhalla. (1972). Calgary, AB: D. W. Friesen & Sons Ltd.

Procedures Manual. (1987). Historic Costume and Textile Study Collection, University of Alberta, Edmonton.

Towards a material history methodology. (1985). *Material History Bulletin, 22,* 31.

Vesterheim: The Norwegian-American Museum. (1986). Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg Publishing House.

Ager, W. (1977a). The great levelling. In O. S. Lovoll (Ed.), *Norwegian-American topical studies: Vol. 2. Cultural pluralism versus assimilation* (pp. 101-116). Northfield, MN: The Norwegian-American Historical Association.

Ager, W. (1977b). The language is most important. In O. S. Lovoll (Ed.), *Norwegian-American topical studies: Vol. 2. Cultural pluralism versus assimilation* (pp. 68-76). Northfield, MN: The Norwegian-American Historical Association.

Ager, W. (1977c). Preserving our mother tongue. In O. S. Lovoll (Ed.), *Norwegian-American topical studies: Vol. 2. Cultural pluralism versus assimilation* (pp. 55-63). Northfield, MN: The Norwegian-American Historical Association.

Andersen, E. (1971). *Folkedragter i Nationalmuseet* [Folk costumes in the National Museum]. Odense: Andelsbogtrykkeriet.

Bailey, A. G. (1977). Retrospective thoughts of an ethnohistorian. *Historical Papers.* Canadian Historical Association.

Barstad, J. (Ed.). (1975). *Litteratur om utvandringen fra Norge til Nord-Amerika* [Literature about immigration from Norway to North-America]. Oslo: Universitetsbibliotekets Hustrykkeri.

Bjork, K. O. (1974). Scandinavian migration to the Canadian prairie provinces, 1893-1914. *Norwegian-American Studies, 26,* 3-30.

Bournival, M. (1985). A heritage comes alive. *Ici Québec, 1*(6), 1-3.

Bronner, S. J. (Ed.). (1985). *American material culture and folklife: A prologue and dialogue.* Ann Arbor, MI: Univeristy Microfilms International.

Brunvand, J. H. (1974). *Norwegian settlers in Alberta.* (Mercury Series Paper No. 8). Ottawa, ON: National Museum of Man, Canada Centre for Folk Culture Studies.

Campbell, I. M. (1975). *Pioneers of the Peace.* Grande Prairie, AB: Grande Prairie and District Old Timers' Association.

Chenhall, R. G. (1978). *Nomenclature for museum cataloguing: A system for classifying man-made objects*. Nashville, TN: American Association for State and Local History.

Chrislock, C. H. (1981). *Ethnicity challenged: The upper midwest Norwegian-American experience in World War 1*. Norwegian-American Topical Studies, Vol. 3. Northfield, Minnesota: The Norwegian-American Historical Association.

Condon, A. G. (1983). What the object knew: Material history studies in Canada. *Acadiensis, 13-14*, 136-146.

Dalibard, J. (1984, October/November). What is an Eco-Museum? *Canadian Heritage*, pp. 2-4.

Dalibard, J. (1986, February/March). In the new museology the community is the curator. *Canadian Heritage*, pp. 2-3.

Davis, C., Back, K., & Maclean, K. (1977). *Oral history: From tape to type*. Chicago, IL: American Library Association.

Dawson, C. A. (1936). Group settlement: Ethnic communities in western Canada. *Canadian Frontiers of Settlement, Vol. 7*. Toronto, ON: Macmillan.

Dawson, C. A., & Murchie, R. W. (1934). The settlement of the Peace River Country. *Canadian Frontiers of Settlement, Vol. 6*. Toronto, ON: Macmillan.

Dawson, C. A., & Younge, E. R. (1940). Pioneering in the prairie provinces. *Canadian Frontiers of Settlement, Vol. 8*. Toronto, ON: Macmillan.

deVarine, H. (1985). The word and beyond. *Museum, 148*, 185.

denOtter, A. A. (1972). *A brief outline of the history and distribution of ethnic settlement in Alberta*. Edmonton, AB: Provincial Museum and Archives.

Douglas, D. J. A. (1987). Community development: Scope, issues, potentials. *Journal of Community Development, 1*(1), 16-23.

Ember, C. R., & Ember, M. (1981). *Cultural anthropology* (3rd ed.). Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc.

Eskrick, M. (1971). *The Norwegian settlers: Eagle Hill and Bergen*. Calgary, AB: Glenbow-Alberta Institute.

Felt, H. (1906). *Gamle Norskehjem: Hus og bohave* [Old Norwegian homes: Houses and living quarters]. Kristiania: Norsk Folkemuseum.

Finley, G. (1985). Material history and curatorship: Problems and prospects. *Muse, 3*(3), 36.

Fleming, E. M. (1974). Artifact study: A proposed model. *Winterthur Portfolio, 9*, 153-173.

Grant, L. (1987). Provincial association organizes study-tour of Quebec ecomuseum. *Museogramme, 15*(3), 7.

Grimstvedt, M. (1984a). Bunad: Historic dress style or new creation? *The Sons of Norway Viking, 81*, 222-223.

Grimstvedt, M. (1984b). From the folk dress style of the 1800's to modern bunads. *The Sons of Norway Viking, 81*, 364-388.

Gustafson, G. (1906). *Norges oldtid: Mindersmærker og oldsager* [Norway's oldendays: Memory markers and old things]. Kristiania: Norsk Folkemuseum.

Harney, R. F. (Ed.). (1985). *Gathering place: Peoples and neighborhoods of Toronto, 1834-1945*. Toronto, ON: Multicultural History Society of Ontario.

Hauglid, R. (Ed.). (1967). *Native art of Norway*. New York: Frederick A. Præger.

Heron, R. P. (1983, May). *Heritage representation for community development: A planning perspective*. Paper presented at the meeting of the European Leisure and Recreation Association, Växjö, Sweden.

Heron, R. P., Bidart, T., Fournier, L., & Adams, D. (1977). *Selected readings in recreation administrations: Canadian context*. Edmonton: University of Alberta, Department of Recreation Administration.

Holloman, R. E. (1978). The study of ethnicity: An overview. In R. E. Holloman & S. A. Arutiunov (Eds.), *Perspectives on ethnicity* (pp. 3-9). Paris: Mouton Publishers.

Hopstock, C. (1924). *Norwegian design from Viking age to Industrial Revolution* Oslo: Dreyers Forlag.

Horn, M. J., & Gurel, L. M. (1981). *The second skin: An interdisciplinary study of clothing* (3rd ed.). Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin Company.

Hought, A. G. (1986). *Anna: Norse roots in homestead soil*. Seattle, WA: Welcome Press.

Hudson, K. (1975). *A social history of museums: What the visitors thought*. London: The MacMillan Press Ltd.

Hudson, K. (1977). *Museums for the 1980s: A survey of world trends*. Great Britain: Butler and Tanner Ltd.

Hudson, K. (1987). *Museums of influence*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Isajiw, W. W. (1979). *Definitions of ethnicity*. Toronto, ON: The Multicultural History Society of Ontario, Occasional Papers in Ethnic and Immigration Studies.

Isajiw, W. W. (1981). *Ethnic identity retention*. Toronto, ON: The Multicultural History Society of Ontario, Occasional Papers in Ethnic and Immigration Studies.

Jacobsen, M. A. (1971). *Norwegian-American ethnicity and ethnic clothing, textiles, and household objects*. Unpublished master's thesis, Oregon State University, Corvallis.

Janssen, V. K. (1982). Swedish settlement in Alberta, 1890-1930.

Swedish-American Historical Quarterly, 33, 111-129.

Karlberg, M. (1984a). Bunad etiquette. *The Sons of Norway Viking, 81*, 294-295.

Karlberg, M. (1984b). The making of a bunad. *The Sons of Norway Viking, 81*, 196-197.

Keesing, R. M. (1981). *Cultural anthropology: A contemporary perspective* (2nd ed.). New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Kerkhoven, M. (1986). *Analysis of textile crafts at selected agricultural fairs in Alberta and Saskatchewan, 1879-1915*. Unpublished master's thesis, University of Alberta, Edmonton.

Key, A. F. (1973). *Beyond four walls: The origins and development of Canadian museums*. Toronto, ON: McClelland and Stewart Ltd.

Konaré, A. O. (1985). Ecomuseums for the Sahel: A programme. *Museum, 148*, 230-236.

Kroeber, A. L., & Kluckhohn, C. (1963). *Culture: A critical review of concepts and definitions*. New York: Vintage Books.

Loken, G. (1980). *From fjord to frontier*. Canada: McClelland and Stewart Ltd.

Lovoll, O. S. (Ed.). (1984). *The promise of America: A history of the Norwegian-American people*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Lowenthal, D. (1985). *The past is a foreign country*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Lyons, L. N. (1984). What is a bunad? *The Sons of Norway Viking, 81*, 84-85.

MacCannell, D. (1976). *The tourist: A new theory of the leisure class*. New York: Schocken Books Inc.

Mayrand, P. (1985). The new museology proclaimed. *Museum, 148*, 200-201.

Noss, A. (1985). The bunad silver is back. *The Sons of Norway Viking, 82*, 328-332.

Noss, A. (1987). From Norwegian folk costumes to American dress. *The Sons of Norway Viking, 84*, 178-181.

Palmer, H., & Palmer, T. (Eds.). (1985). *Peoples of Alberta: Portraits of cultural diversity*. Saskatoon, SK: Western Producer Prairie Books.

Paulsen, F. M. (1974). *Danish settlements on the Canadian prairies: Folk traditions, immigrant experiences, and local history*. (Mercury Series Paper No. 11). Ottawa, ON: National Museum of Man, Canadian Centre for Folk Culture Studies.

Pearce, S. (1986a). Objects, high and low. *Museums Journal, 86*, 79-82.

Pearce, S. (1986b). Objects as signs and symbols. *Museums Journal, 86*, 131-135.

Pearce, S. (1986c). Thinking about things. *Museums Journal, 86*, 198-201.

Pisney, R. F. (Ed.). (1976). *Historical resources: Finding, preserving, and using*. Verona, VA: McClure Printing Co., Inc.

Prown, J. D. (1980). Style as evidence. *Winterthur Portfolio, 15*, 197-210.

Prown, J. D. (1982). Mind in matter: An introduction to material culture theory and method. *Winterthur Portfolio, 17*, 1-19.

Querrien, M. (1985). Taking the measure of the phenomenon. *Museum, 148*, 198-199.

Reimer, D. (Ed.). (1984). *Voices: A guide to oral history*. Province of British Columbia, Ministry of Provincial Secretary and Government Services, Provincial Archives.

Ripley, D. (1969). *The sacred grove: Essays on museums*. New York: Simon and Schuster.

Rivard, R. (1984, October). *Opening up the museum*. Quebec City, PQ: Author.

Rivière, G. H. (1985). The ecomuseum: An evolutive definition. *Museum, 148*, 182-183.

Rockswold, E. P. (1981). *Per: Immigrant and pioneer*. Staples, MN: Adventure Publications.

Rønning, H. N. (1943). *The gospel at work*. Minneapolis, MN: N. N. Rønning, Sexton Building.

Schlater, J. D. (1971). *National goals and guidelines for research in home economics*. East Lansing, MI: Association of Administration of Home Economics.

Schlereth, T. J. (1983). American studies and students of American things. *American Quarterly, 35*, 237-238.

Schlereth, T. J. (1985). *Material culture: A research guide*. Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas.

Schweger, B. (1983). *Documentation and analysis of the clothing worn by non-native men in the Canadian arctic prior to 1920, with an emphasis on footwear*. Unpublished master's thesis, University of Alberta, Edmonton.

Semmingsen, I. (1980). (E. Haugen, Trans.). *Norway to American: A history of the migration*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press. (Original work published 1975)

Semmingsen, I. (1987). The Norwegian immigrant woman in America: Some glimpses through her letters. *The Sons of Norway Viking, 84*, 140-141, 156-157.

Seymour-Smith, C. (1986). *Dictionary of anthropology*. Boston, MA: MacMillan Press Ltd.

Sjøvold, A. B. (1976). *Norwegian tapestries*. Oslo: C. Huitfeldt Forlag A/S.

Smith, D. R. (1987). *Dressmaking in Edmonton, 1900-1930*. Unpublished master's thesis, University of Alberta, Edmonton.

Sorokin, P. A. (1961). The principle of imminent change. In T. Parsons et al. (Eds.), *Theories of society: Foundations of modern sociological theory* (pp. 1311-1321). New York: The Free Press.

Steen, R., & Hendrickson, M. (1944). *Pioneer days in Bardo, Alberta: Including sketches of early surrounding settlements*. Tofield, AB: The Historical Society of Beaver Hills Lake.

Stevenson, S. (1987). Balancing the scales: Old views and a new muse. *Muse, 5*(1), 30-34.

Stewart, J. (1953). *The folk arts of Norway*. Madison, WI: The University of Wisconsin Press.

Stigen, T. (1958). *Norway*. London: Thames & Hudson.

Sturtevant, W.C. (1977). *Guide to field collecting of ethnographic specimens*. (Smithsonian Information Leaflet 503, 2nd Ed). Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institute Press.

Tracy, W. (1986). The ecomuseum: Concept and reality in the Crowsnest Pass. *Alberta Museums Review, 2*(2), 3-5.

Turner, R. D. (1984). The limitations of material history: A museological perspective. *Material History Bulletin No. 20*, 87-92.

Useem, J., & Useem, R. H. (1945). Minority-group pattern in prairie society. *American Journal of Sociology, 50*, 377-385.

Winslow, K. (1983). *Acculturation as reflected in dress of Norwegian immigrants to North Dakota, 1870-1900*. Unpublished master's thesis, North Dakota State University, Bottineau.

Wonders, W. C. (1976). Scandinavian homesteaders. *Alberta History, 24*(3), 1-4.

APPENDICES

7. Appendices

Appendix A - Classification of Artifacts in Inventory

The classification of the specific artifacts for the inventory is based on Chenhall's *Nomenclature for museum cataloguing: A system for classifying man-made objects* (1978). Chapter five contains major artifact categories and classification terms. The classification descriptions were produced by the researcher as criteria to distinguish between artifacts whose identity may be unclear.

Category 1: Structures - artifacts originally created to serve as shelter from the elements or to meet some other human need in a relatively permanent location; includes buildings and sites.

Category 2: Building Furnishings - artifacts originally created to be used in or around buildings for the purpose of providing comfort, care and pleasure to the occupants.

1. Bedding - an artifact originally created to be used on a bed or in association with sleeping.
2. Floor Covering - an artifact originally created to be a relatively portable covering for the floor of a building; includes rugs and carpeting but not permanently attached tile or linoleum.
3. Furniture - an artifact originally created to be a relatively permanent though movable furnishing for living quarters, an office or a public building; includes outdoor furniture but excludes functional appliances.
4. Household Accessory - an artifact originally created to be placed in or around a building for some relatively minor utilitarian purpose; includes small furnishings, special household containers, furniture protection objects (table cover); does not

include purely decorative artifacts or devices used in a productive housekeeping activity.

Category 3: Personal Artifacts - artifacts originally created to serve the personal needs of individuals as clothing, adornment, body protection, grooming aids, or symbols of beliefs or achievements.

1. Adornment - an artifact originally created to be worn on the human body or on clothing as decoration or ornamentation rather than as body covering.
2. Clothing - an artifact originally created to be used as covering for the human body; includes underwear, outerwear, headwear, footwear and also accessories (belt).
3. Personal Gear - an artifact originally created to be used by an individual as a carrying device (knapsack), protective apparatus, or as a personal or physical aid.

Category Four: Tools and Equipment - artifacts originally created to be used in carrying on an activity such as an art, craft, trade, profession or hobby; the tools, implements and equipment used in the process of modifying available resources for some human purpose.

1. Textileworking Tools and Equipment - an artifact originally created to be used in the making of thread, yarn or cordage, or in the creation of objects from natural fibers or from cloth; includes basketmaking tools, sailmaking tools, weaving tools, needleworking implements, etc.

Category Five: Communication Artifacts - artifacts originally created for the purpose of facilitation human communication.

Category Six: Transportation Artifacts - artifacts originally created as vehicles for the transporting of passengers or freight.

Category Seven: Art Objects - artifacts originally created for aesthetic purposes or as a demonstration of creative skill and dexterity; the essential ingredient is that the artifact was created for no apparent utilitarian purpose.

1. Commercial Decorative Art - an artifact originally created in commercial quantities to serve primarily as non-utilitarian household decoration.
2. Original Art - an artifact originally created as one of a kind, or as one of a limited series, to provide aesthetic pleasure or as a demonstration of creative skill and dexterity.

Category Eight: Recreational Artifacts - artifacts originally created to be used as toys or in carrying on the activities of sports, games, gambling or public entertainment.

Category Nine: Societal Artifacts - artifacts originally created to be used in carrying on governmental, fraternal, religious or other organized and sanctioned societal activities.

Category Ten: Packages and Containers - artifacts originally created to be used for packing and shipping goods and commodities, and containers for which a precise function cannot be determined.

Category Eleven: Unclassified Artifacts - artifacts originally created to serve a human purpose which cannot be identified at the time the object is catalogued.

1. Artifact remnants - a segment or incomplete part of an artifact originally created to fulfill some human function which cannot be determined or even inferred from the fragment.

2. **Function Unknown** - an artifact originally created to be used for some unidentified human activity.

Appendix B - Explanation of specific artifacts

Those clothing and textile artifacts which may be difficult to distinguish from each other are explained in the following list. The classification descriptions were produced by the researcher as criteria to distinguish between artifacts whose identities may be unclear. The list does not include all specific artifacts found in the artifact inventory.

Bell pull	a long, narrow wall hanging originally hung beside the owner's bed and pulled to summon help; currently hung as decoration in living quarters; may or may not include a bell.
Chair throw	a textile used to protect and adorn the back of a chair; usually extending the length of the back.
Counter cover	a textile or group of textiles to place on table or counter, often of varying sizes to fit sections of counter.
Doily	a small square, rectangular or round decorative textile for the centre of tables or under specific items to protect the table from scratching.
Sofa set	a group of textiles to place on back and armrests of sofa or couch.
Table cover	a textile used to protect and adorn tables; usually covers the majority of table surface and commonly extends over the table edge.
Table runner	a textile used to protect and adorn a table, but does not completely cover table surface; larger and usually longer than doilies, sometimes running full length of table.
Tablecloth set	a group of square, rectangular or round textiles used to protect and adorn one or more tables.

Appendix C - Glossary of Norwegian Terms

Bragd	the method in which an article is produced; in weaving, the loom brocade pattern produced by shuttle weaving (e.g., *skilbragd*, *sjonbragd*, *tavlebragd*, *krokbragd*).
Bunad (pl. *bunader*)	the revived national or folk costume from Norway which which includes all parts (headgear, upper and lower garments, footwear, and accessories) of both men's and women's costume; also referred to as '*drakt*' or '*nasjonal drakt*'.
Drakt	see '*Bunad*'.
Flensvevnad	the double weave hangings used to bring warmth and color to Norwegian homes in the fifth century.
Hardangersaum (or *hardangersøm*)	the specific cut- and drawn-thread embroidery technique developed in the Hardanger district of Norway; traditionally worked in white cotton thread on white linen fabric.
Lusekufte (pl. *lusekufter*)	a patterned cardigan sweater in colorful patterns and with characteristic single contrasting stitch in background ('*lus*' - louse or flea).
Nasjonal drakt	see '*Bunad*'.
Nisse (pl. *nisser*)	Norwegian Christmas elf.
Rosemaling	colorful scroll painting characteristic of the Setesdal area of Norway.
Rosesaum	the scroll patterned, satin-stitched embroidery characteristic of the Setesdal district of Norway; includes *krullesaum*, *krotesaum*, *dragsaum*, *smettesaum*.
Rye (pl. *ryer*)	a rag or tied shag rug.
Skybragd	a tapestry patterned in cloudwork motifs ('*sky*' - cloud).
Sølje (pl. *søljer*)	a Norwegian silver filigree brooch; often with brass or gold-plated 'spoons' and 'leaves'.
Trøye (pl. *trøyer*)	a man's or woman's jacket, suitcoat, sweater or vest.
Åklæ (pl. *åklær*)	a square weave used to make coverlets in the seventeenth century.

Appendix D - Oral History Guideline Questions

Interview number:

Interview date:

Interviewer:

Interview location:

Special notes:

Spelling of words/names/places:

Demographic Information

Name:

Address:

Telephone:

Birthdate:

Birthplace:

1. Do you identify yourself as Norwegian? How would describe your identity/heritage?
2. Who of your ancestors came from Norway?
3. What did they do in Norway?
4. When did your ancestors leave Norway?
5. When did they arrive in Valhalla Centre?
6. Did they come directly? If not, by what route?
7. Could you describe the process of your family's move to Valhalla Centre?
8. Have members of your family returned to visit Norway?
9. Where did your family settle around Valhalla Centre?
10. Would you tell me about your family? (How many were in it, where was everyone born, what was the age spread?)
11. What is the present situation in your family? How many of the family members still live in the Valhalla Centre community?
12. What work/occupations has your family done/been involved in in Valhalla Centre?
13. What leisure activities has your family been involved in? Can you give examples of these activities?

    Can you describe what you would do on an average day? Your daily activities?

14. Have the activities you were involved in been particularly Norwegian in nature? What were these? How often would these occur?
15. Has your family used the Norwegian language for speaking, reading or singing? When and to what extent?
16. Has your family done any specific Norwegian cooking or baking? When and what kinds?
17. Have you displayed other objects that were from Norway or were Norwegian? What kinds?

Clothing: Changes/Adaptations

1. What was the climate/weather like where your family came from?
2. Were there any noticeable changes in climate and living conditions upon moving to Valhalla Centre?
3. What clothing did your family wear when they left Norway for North America? Can you describe them?
4. Could you describe any changes in the clothing your family wore after moving here?
5. What can you remember about the clothing your family wore for typical occasions such as work, play, indoors, outdoors, and travelling?
6. Was your family clothed differently than others in the same area? What were the differences?

Clothing: Seasonal Changes

1. Does your family's clothing change from summer to winter? What items or

kinds of clothing change?

2. What is worn in the winter to keep warm? Can you tell about how you keep warm both indoors and outdoors?
3. What kinds of clothes are worn outdoors in the summertime? Are these different than what is worn indoors? Could you say something about the summer clothing used in Valhalla Centre area?
4. Do you remember anything specific about the head, hand, foot coverings that are used in summer? In winter?

Clothing: Cultural Aspects

1. What changes in clothing have there been due to new cultural surroundings people of other cultural backgrounds in the vicinity?
2. What parts of their clothing have your family adapted, if any?
3. Has there been any sharing of ideas?
4. Has your clothing had any special decorations or designs that were Norwegian or from Norway? Could you describe these?
5. What kinds of special occasions have you had or participated in that called for special clothing or costumes?
    -Church, School, Parties, Community events
    -Annual events (Syttende Mai)
    -What was the significance of the events?
    -What was the significance of the clothing or costumes?
6. What can you remember about the clothing and accessories you and your family have worn to these events?
7. Has your family taken part in activities with people of other backgrounds?
8. Have there been any social codes or rules specifying that it was right or wrong to wear clothing that was of Norwegian style or design?
9. Have there been any superstitions, legends or beliefs in your family or

community pertaining to particular items being worn or used at a certain time?

Clothing: Production, Selection and Maintenance

1. Who has done most of the clothing related activities in your family such as making buying desicions, ordering and making?
2. Have the clothing and textile choices been influenced by your family's Norwegian background?
3. How often are new clothes made or bought? Where are they purchased from?
4. Have any clothing or textile items been sent from Norway or picked up by visitors to Norway?
5. Who made/makes those items that were *handmade*?
6. What methods were/are used to make them? Could you describe this production process?
7. How has your clothing been maintained/cared for? Who has looked after this aspect and how has it been done?
8. How has your family dealt with used clothing and textiles?
9. Has there been any groups or individuals involved in recycling textile materials?
10. Has there been any groups or organizations involved in the production of clothes or other textiles in the Valhalla Centre area?
11. Has the Valhalla Centre area had any clothing-related activities? Which ones? Can you tell about them?
12. Has your family owned any jewellery that was particularly Norwegian? How was it acquired? How often was it worn? Who wore it?
13. Does your family still have those pieces? Are they worn? How often?

Household Textiles

1. What textiles have been used throughout your house for utility and/or decoration?
2. Do you remember if these came from Norway or were of Norwegian structure or design? Have any been sent from or picked up in Norway?
3. Who made them? How important were they? Could you describe how they were made?
4. Why have you kept these textiles in the home?
5. Has anyone in your family done any spinning, knitting, weaving or embroidery? When and how often? What are your recollections of this?
6. Does anyone continue to do these activities now? Who does them? What are they used for? Could you describe them?
7. What patterns, designs, colors, materials are used? Are they considered Norwegian textiles?

Norwegian Activities

1. Does your family take part in any particularly Norwegian activities now? Which ones? How often do you participate in them?
2. Is Norwegian used for speaking, reading or singing now in your family?
3. Do you or your family do any specifically Norwegian cooking or baking now? How often do you make something Norwegian?
4. Do you or your family now display other objects (wooden, pewter) from Norway or of Norwegian design?

Artifacts and Documentation

1. What Norwegian clothing and textiles did you have at one time but no longer have? What have you done with them?
2. Do you have any Norwegian clothing articles? How many? Can you describe these? Are they still in use?
3. Do you have any Norwegian textile pieces? How many? Can you describe these? Are they still in use?
4. Do you have any contemporary clothing and textile articles that are of Norwegian design? What are they? How many do you have?
5. Do you have any Norwegian tools or equipment that would have been used in Valhalla Centre? What are they? How many do you have?
6. Do you have any articles that came from Norway? Were they used/not used?
7. How many of these pieces do you have?
8. Are any of these clothing articles worn? Do you display any of these textile articles in your home now? How many and how often?
9. Would you be willing to have these documented for this study?
10. Do you have any photographs or other records which may be of use to this study?

In Conclusion

Do you have any special memories about specifically Norwegian clothing or textile pieces?

Do you have any specific memories about Norwegian cultural activities in your home or participated in by your family?

Thank you very much for your time.

Appendix E - Oral History Letter

U of A Letterhead

Date

Dear Valhalla Centre resident;

I am conducting research for my Graduate Studies thesis in Clothing and Textiles at the University of Alberta. In my thesis I am studying the Norwegian immigrant clothing and household textiles in Valhalla Centre.

Would you like to be a participant in this study? I am looking for volunteers of Norwegian background to take part in a one-to-one, taped interview about their family's cultural background and their remembrances of clothing and textile practices. You and members of your household over eighteen (18) years of age are invited to participate in this study. If you are selected as part of the sample, the interview will be approximately two (2) hours long, but may be stopped or interrupted at any point. It may be conducted in English or Norwegian. Tapes are normally identified and kept for future use. However, should you prefer, they will be confidential and for use in this study only.

I am looking for clothing and textile articles to photograph and document. I am interested in common garments, such as stockings, mittens and undergarments, as well as special costumes. Tools and equipment used to produce textiles (e.g., knitting needles, spinning wheels) would also be useful to the study. In addition, I am looking for photographs and/or paintings which contain evidence of clothing worn and/or textiles used in Valhalla Centre.

Please fill out and mail the enclosed response form by January 4, 1988. Once all the response forms have been collected, those selected will be contacted by phone to set up an interview.

Thank you in advance for your consideration and help to make this study successful. It is hoped that this will be a valuable experience for you and your community.

Sincerely,

Heather Prince, Graduate Student
University of Alberta

Appendix F - Response Form

Please fill out and mail by January 4, 1988

____ I am not interested in participating in this study.

____ I do not meet the requirements for this study.

I am interested in participating in the study of the clothing and textile of the Norwegian immigrants in Valhalla Centre.

1. ____ I am willing to be interviewed about my family's cultural background and our experiences with the clothing and textiles in Valhalla Centre.
2. ____ I have Norwegian clothing and textiles artifacts which may be photographed and documented for this study.
3. ____ I have other textile-related articles such as tools and equipment which may be photographed and documented for this study.
4. ____ I have personal and/or family photographs, letters and/or diaries which may be used as resources in this study.

Name: ______________________________

Address: ______________________________

Phone: (home) ________(optional) ______________________________

Best times available for interview:

(Please circle) morning / afternoon / evening ______________

Please list brothers and sisters who reside in Valhalla Centre.

____

Appendix G - Topic List for Oral History Interview

1. General family information
2. Information on immigration to Valhalla Centre
    - (a) Changes in location
    - (b) Cultural changes
    - (c) Clothing changes
3. Clothing and household textiles information
    - (a) Seasonal changes
    - (b) Production and usage
    - (c) Selection of clothing and textiles in your family
    - (d) Laundry and care
4. Clothing and textiles-related activities done by individuals, families or social groups
5. Groups and associations formed for clothing and textile production
6. Any articles - clothes, textiles, tools, equipment, photos or letters - which might be used in the study
7. Specific memories about special clothes, textiles in the house or clothing and textile activities

Appendix H - Tape Release Form

Tape Number: ____________

Name: ____________________

"I hereby consent to participate in a taped oral history with researcher Heather Prince, wherein the information I give may be used in the analysis of the clothing and textiles of this community of Valhalla Centre, Alberta. I release all rights to the tape recorded material from the oral history to the Historic Costume and Textile Study Collection, University of Alberta. I understand that my name will remain with the tape and related material. The tape may be used for education and research purposes. It is understood that any conditions specified below apply during my lifetime only."

Comments: ____

____

____

____

____

____

Signature of Participant: ______________________________

Date: ____

Understood and Agreed to: Interviewer/Recorder: ______________________

Date: ______________________

Appendix I - Letter of Thanks

U of A Letterhead

Date

Dear Participant;

Thank you for your household's participation in the study of the Norwegian immigrant clothing and textiles of Valhalla Centre. Your input added much to the study.
The results and discussion are currently being analyzed, and will be available by May 31, 1988. At that time, I hope to return to Valhalla Centre to give a report on the study. You will be informed of the exact date of this report.

If you would like to know anything more specific, please contact me at the following address:

Heather Prince
c/o Rm. 125 Home Economics Building
University of Alberta
Edmonton, Alberta T6G 2M8
Phone: (403) 432-5385

Thank you again for your help.

Sincerely,

Heather Prince, Graduate Student
University of Alberta

Appendix J - Oral History Participants

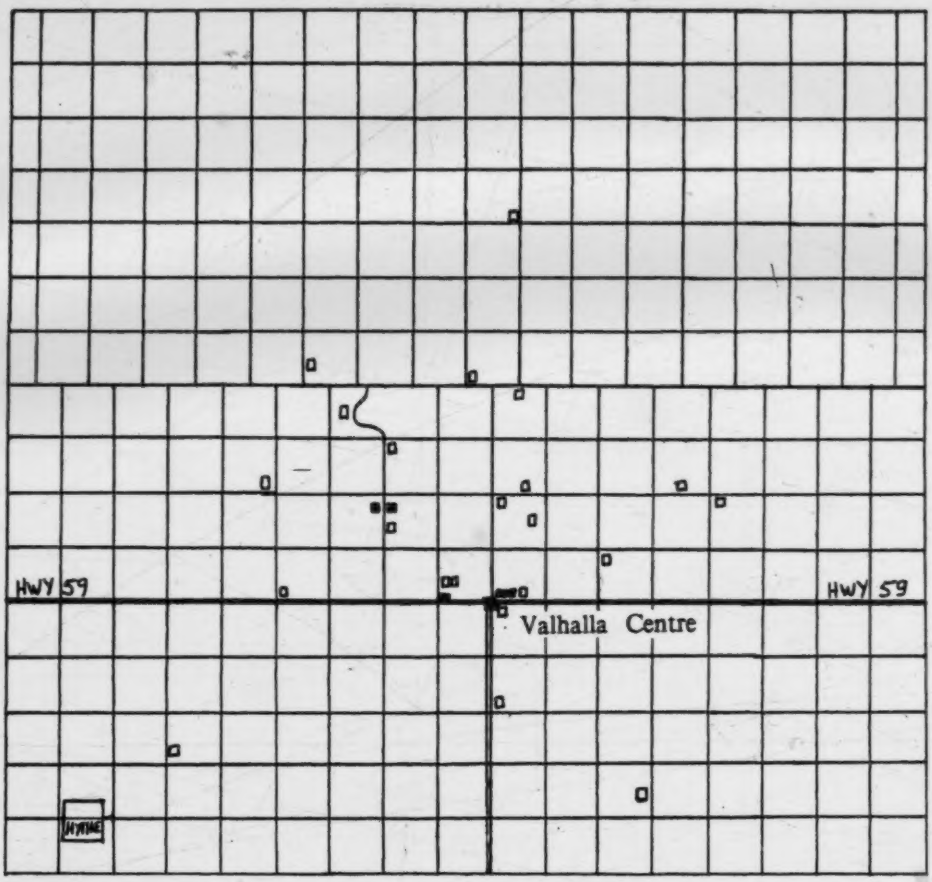
Oral History Number	Name of Participant
001	Paul Loberg
002	Agnes Heggelund
003	Tone Tofteland
004	Olive Stickney
005	Mildred Carlstad
006	Caroline Roset
007	Ole Roset
008	Ole Velve
009	Bennie Velve
010	John Borgedahl
011	Ruth Carlstad
012	Hulda Hanson
013	Christine Brandsater
014	Gunhild Solheim
015	Anna Severson
016	Olaf Severson
017	Halvor Lee
018	Ida Gunderson
019	Myrtle Heggelund
020	Mona Saastad
021	Andreas Saastad
022	Clara Wells
023	Sheldon Horte

Appendix K - Artifact Inventory Participants

Inventory Number	Name of Participant
001	Paul Loberg
002	Gerry and Emily Loberg
003	Evelyn Heggelund
004	Agnes Heggelund
005	Olive Stickney
006	Gina Baker
007	Tone Tofteland
008	Lottie Hanson
009	Laverne and Marilyn Hoveland
010	Albin and Kay Saastad
011	Olaf and Olga Tangen
012	Christine Brandsater
013	Olaf and Anna Severson
014	Gunhild Solheim
015	Joran Kjemhus
016	Ole and Caroline Roset
017	Olaf and Celia Hagen
018	Elsie Saastad
019	Halvor Lee
020	Ruth Carlstad
021	Eivind and Irene Lee
022	Ole and Bernice Kjemhus
023	Telmer Napen
024	Jack and Clara Wells
025	Andreas and Mona Saastad

026	Manuel Dolemo
027	Martin and Alice Fimrite
028	Niels and Shirley Skaksen
029	Sheldon and Eunice Horte
030	Henry and Ida Gunderson
031	Wendell and Gayle Borgedahl
032	Alvin and Mildred Carlstad
033	Bennie Velve
034	John Borgedahl
035	Harold and Johanna Pearson
036	Anna Moe
037	Hulda Hanson
038	Myrtle Heggelund
039	Ole Velve

Appendix L - Location Distribution of Participants in Valhalla Centre Research


HWY 59
HWY 59
Valhalla Centre
HYTHE

Legend:

Each square = 1 square mile

═══ = highway or main road

—— = gravel road

┬┴┬┴ = correction line

□ = participant dwelling

■ = historically significant building or site

Note. Grid based on surveyed area.

Appendix M - Master Data Coding Sheet

Identification number(5)____
Category(1)____
Year(4)____
Month(2)____
Day(2)____
Cataloguer(1)____
Type of source(1)____
Source/Institution(1)____
Item record number/Page(5)____
Source year(4)____
Source month(2)____
Source day(2)____

Artifact Information

Artifact category(2)____
Artifact name(2)____
Artifact type(2)____
Alternate name(2)____
Quantity(2)____
Title(2)____
Artist/Maker(1)____
Begin year of artifact(4)____
End year of artifact(4)____
Material - 3D (1)____
Medium - 2D (1)____
Technique(1)____
Unit Linear(1)____
Width(5)____
Height(5)____
Length(5)____
Selvedge(5)____
Chest(5)____
Waist(5)____
Lcircum(5)____
Llength(5)____
Ulength(5)____
Size - numeric(2)____
Norwegian feature-1(2)____
Norwegian feature-2(2)____
Gender - user(1)____
Age - user(1)____
Major color(2)____
First minor color(2)____
Second minor color(2)____
Condition(1)____

Origin - country(1)____
Origin - province(1)____
Culture(1)____
Use - country(1)____
Use - province(1)____
Ownership (in relation to source)(1)____
Function of use(1)____
Condition of use(1)____

Manner of use(1)____
Quality to owner(1)____

Written and Visual Documentary Information

Type of visual(1)____
Occasion of visual(1)____
Subject(s) portrayed in visual(1)____
Information on visual - name, title, inscription(2)____
Number references to:
clothing and textiles(2)____
only clothing(2)____
only textiles(2)____
change and adaptations(2)____
clothing for warmth(2)____
clothing for outdoors(2)____
clothing for indoors(2)____
clothing for head(2)____
clothing for hands(2)____
clothing for feet(2)____
undergarments(2)____
upper clothing(2)____
lower clothing(2)____
accessories(2)____
festive garments(2)____
other (dolls, etc.)(2)____

household textiles(2)____
table coverings(2)____
household decorative art(2)____
bedding(2)____
art objects (e.g., tapestries)(2)____

clothing for documentation(2)____
textile artifacts for documentation(2)____
individual clothing- and textile-related activities(2)____
group clothing- and textile-related activities(2)____

Oral History Information

Gender of source(1)____
Marital status of source(1)____
Age of source(1)____
Birthdate (Year) of source(4)____
Birthdate (Month) of source(2)____
Birthdate (Day) of source(2)____
Birthplace of source(1)____
Ancestry of source(1)____
Identity of source(1)____
Year family left Norway(4)____
Year family came to Valhalla Centre(4)____

Number of clothing items brought from Norway(2)____
Number of textile items brought from Norway(2)____
Number of clothing and textile activities referred to(2)____
Number of clothing used/worn(2)____
Number of textiles used/displayed(2)____
Number of special garments used/worn(2)____

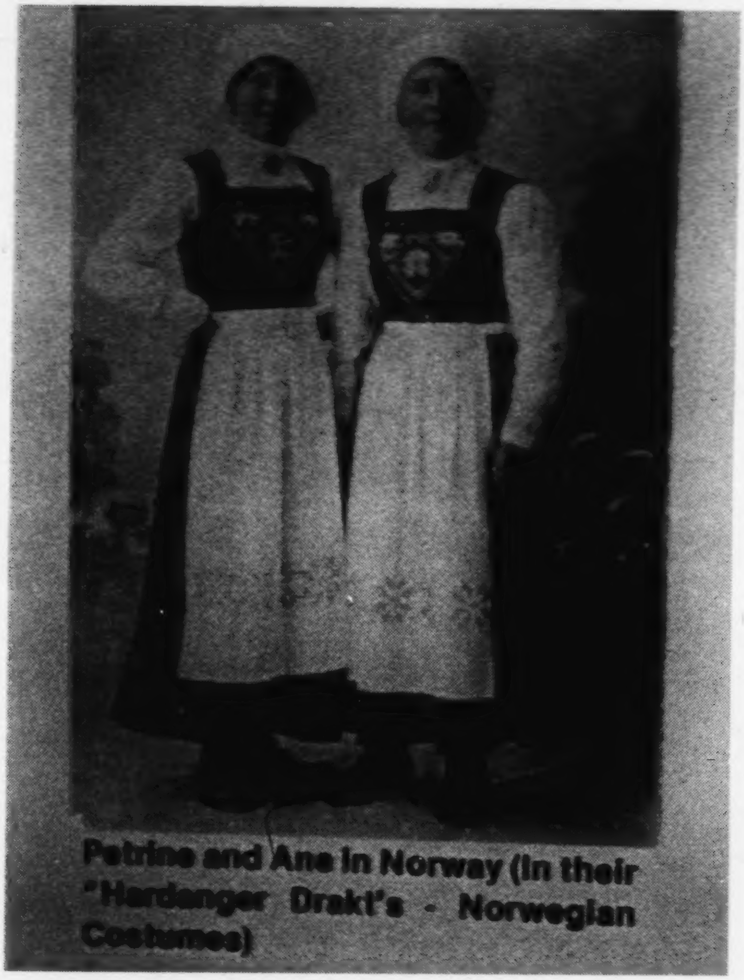
Number of jewellery pieces used/worn(2)____
Clothing and textiles activities done:
Hardanger(1)____
Other embroidery(1)____
Carding(1)____
Spinning(1)____
Knitting(1)____
Weaving(1)____
Crochetting(1)____

Number of clothing items used at present(2)____
Number of textile items used at present(2)____
Number of clothing and textile activities done now:
Hardanger(1)____
Other embroidery(1)____
Carding(1)____
Spinning(1)____
Knitting(1)____
Weaving(1)____
Crochetting(1)____

Norwegian language used(1)____
Norwegian cooking done(1)____
Norwegian objects used/displayed(1)____
Norwegian social/church activities attended(1)____
Clothing choices(1)____

Appendix N - Selected Photographs of Artifacts in Inventory

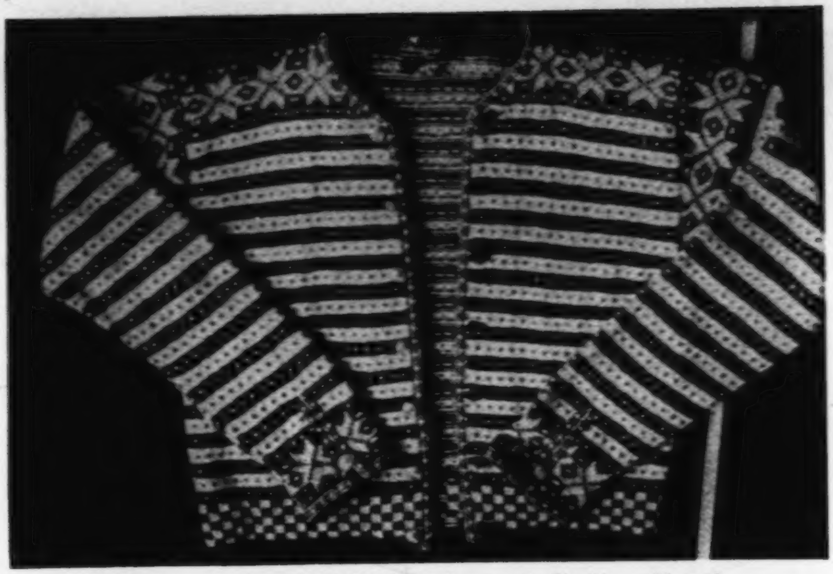
Unless otherwise indicated, photographs of artifacts taken by Heather Prince.



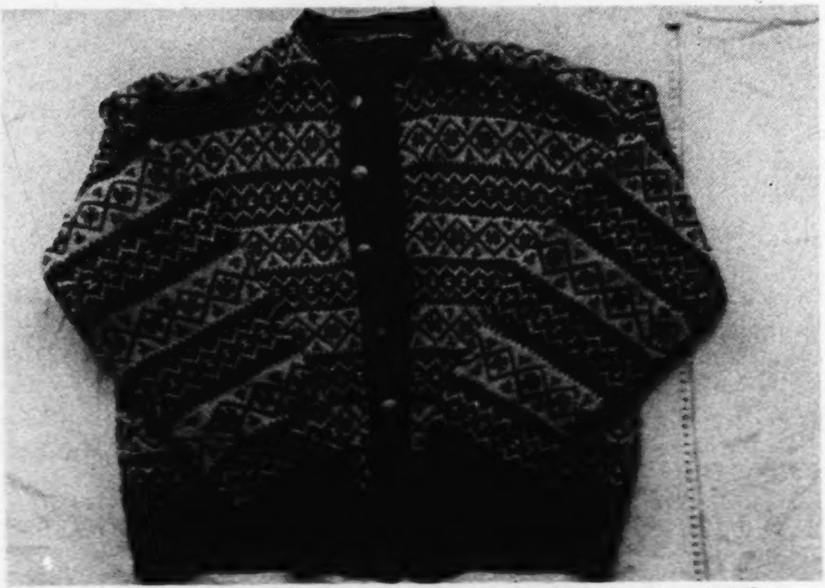
Petrine and Ane in Norway (In their "Hardanger Drakt's - Norwegian Costumes)

Appendix N1 - ACC #033.05 - photograph taken from "Reminiscings of Bennie (Bjørn) Velve", 1966; no page numbers; same costume brought to United States in 1912 and to Valhalla Centre in 1914.

Appendix N2 and N3

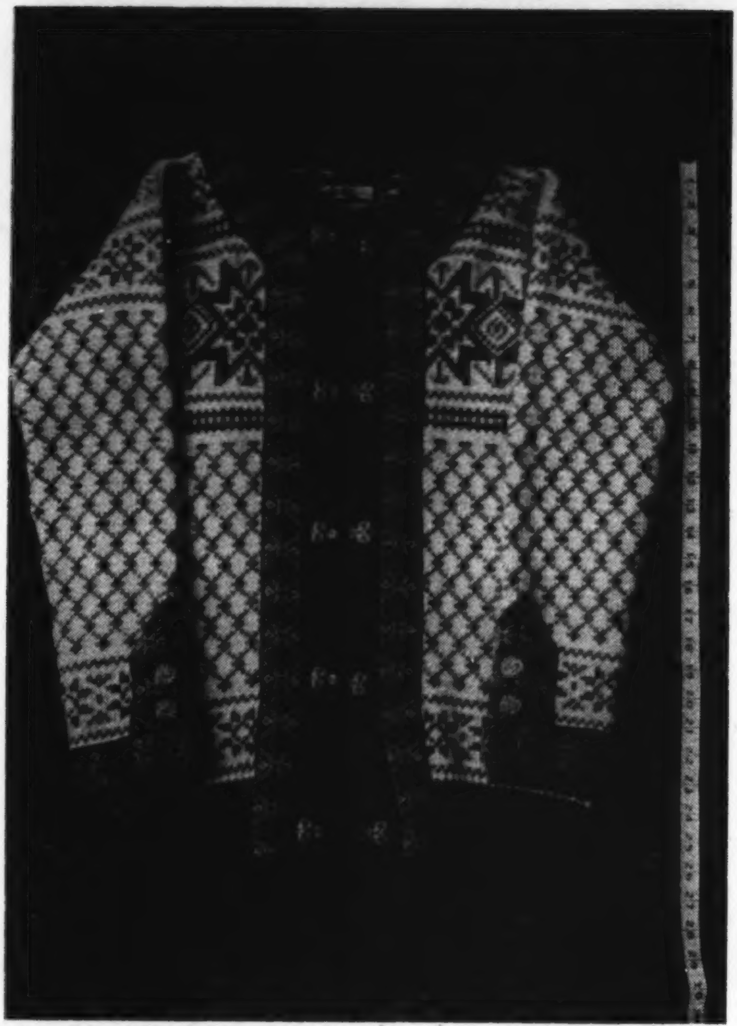


Appendix N2 - ACC #029.01 (Eunice and Sheldon Horte) - two-color knitted sweater in white and dark grey; off-white, green and red woven edge-band; eight-petal rose on shoulders, sleeves and cuffs; Viking ship imprint on pewter buttons; purchased in Norway in early 1950s by Inga Rønning for Sheldon's father, Harry Horte.



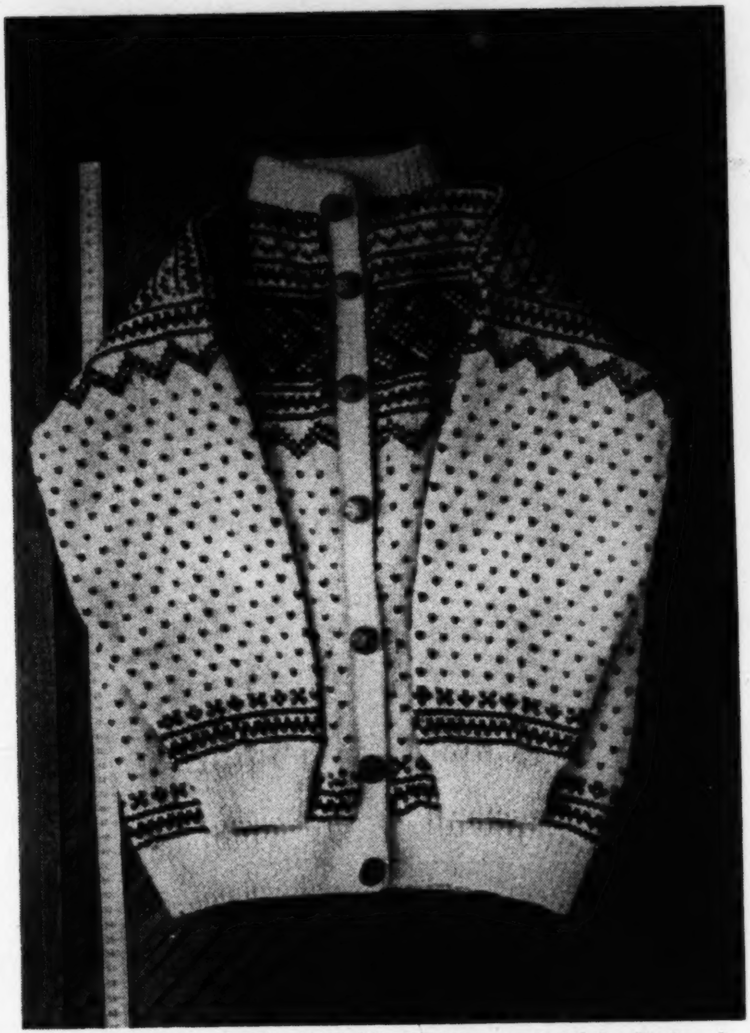
Appendix N3 - ACC #031.01 (Gayle and Wendell Borgedahl) - two-color knitted sweater in navy and light grey; caribou imprint on pewter buttons; brought from Norway in 1970 by Wendell's parents, Thora and John Borgedahl.

Appendix N4



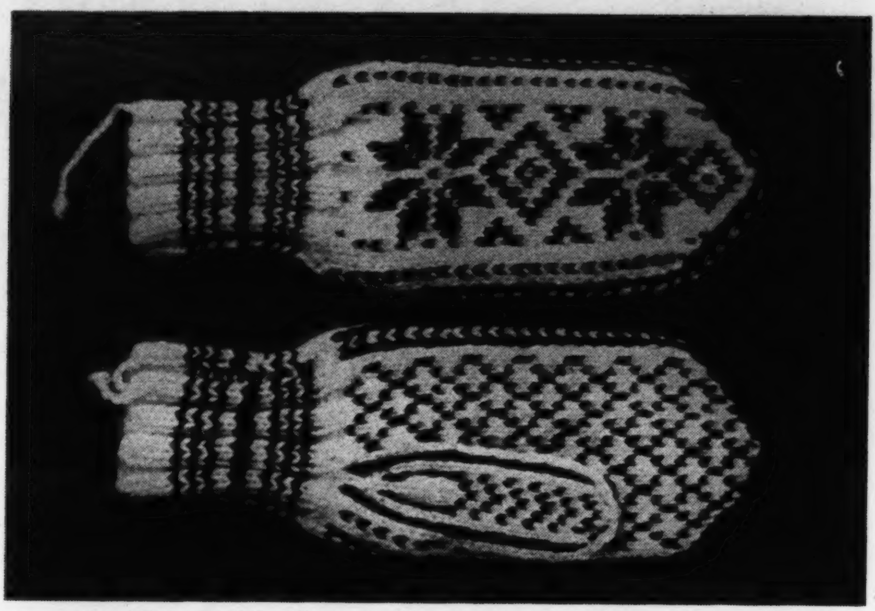
Appendix N4 - ACC #017.01 (Celia and Olaf Hagen) - two-color knitted sweater manufactured by 'Dale of Norway'; blue-grey, black and white with blue woven bands and pewter clasps; purchased by Celia in Norway in 1984.

Appendix N5

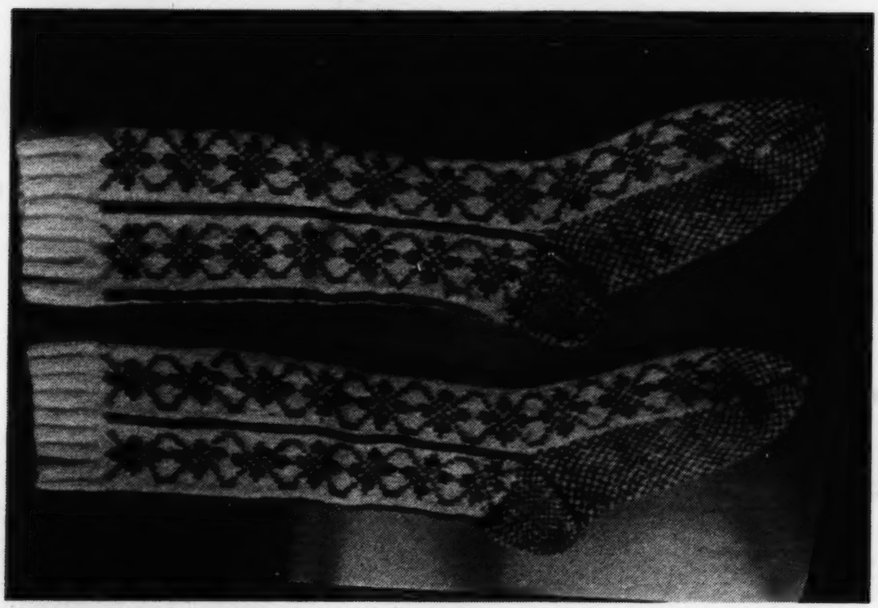


Appendix N5 - ACC #028.01 (Shirley and Niels Skaksen) - two-color knitted sweater in black and white; hand-knit by Shirley in 1975-1976; pattern and wool from Norway.

Appendix N6 and N7

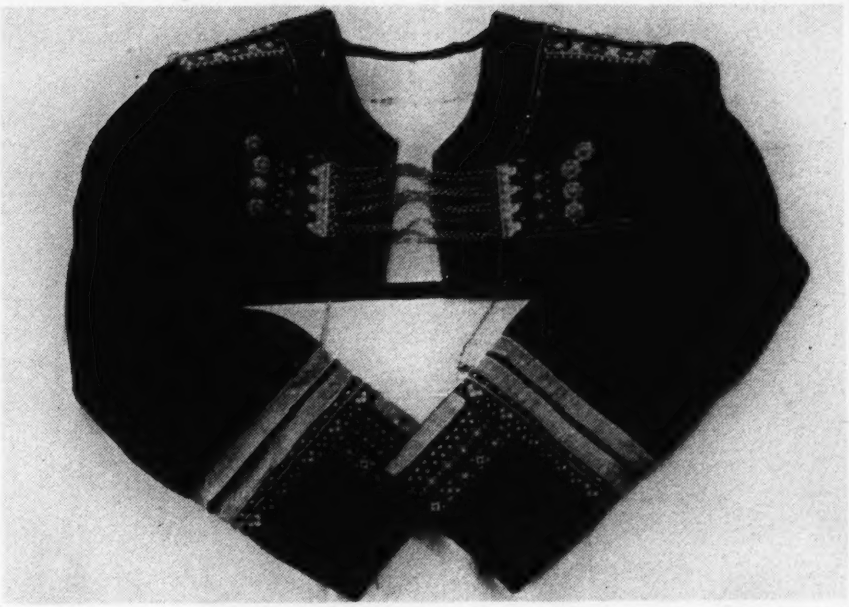


Appendix N6 - ACC #013.01 (Anna and Olaf Severson) - two-color knitted 'Selbu' mittens in black and white; received from Norway in 1984.



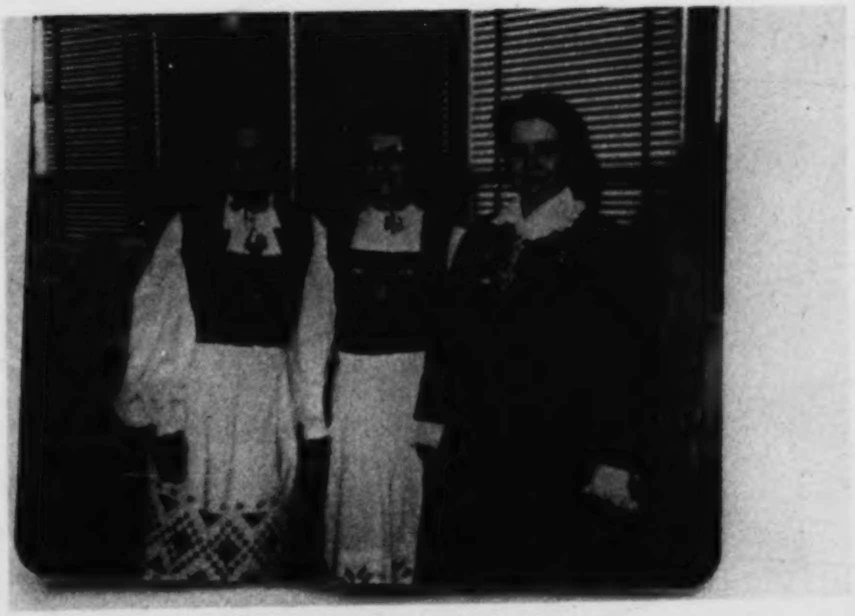
Appendix N7 - ACC #013.02 (Anna and Olaf Severson) - two-color knitted stockings in blue and white; sent from Norway in early 1930s; worn by Olaf with low rubber boots.

Appendix N8



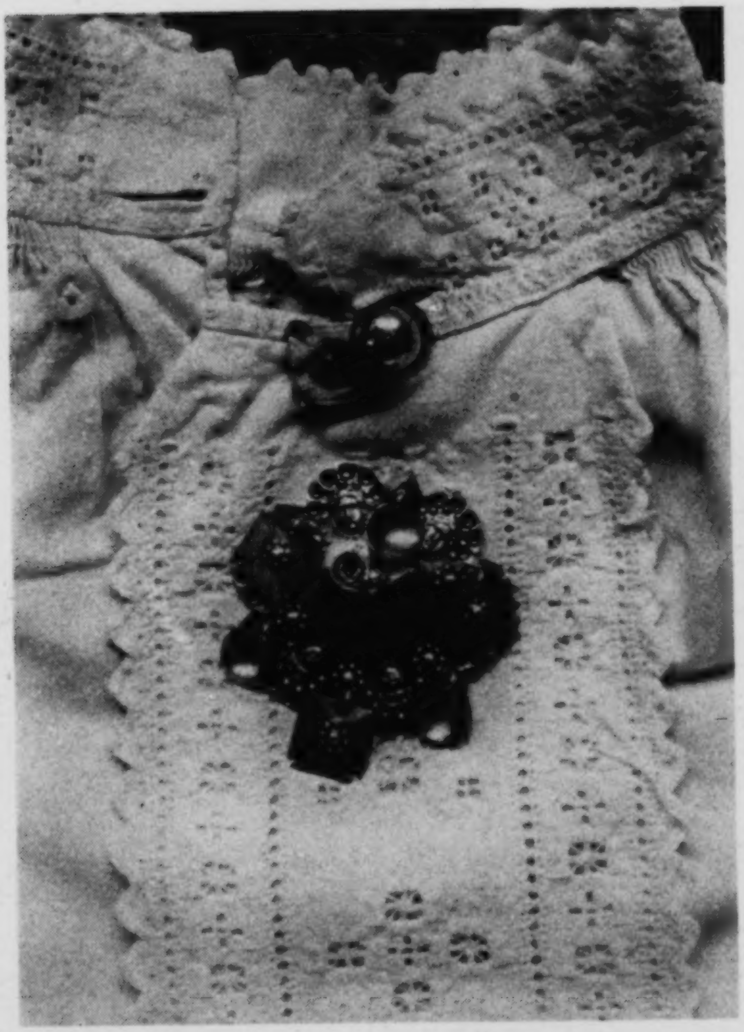
Appendix N8 - ACC #007.13 (Tone Tofteland) - bodice of Setesdal *bunad*; black with green collar, cuffs and hem; red and yellow embroidery, and silver bands around cuffs and hem; *Bunad* worn by Tone in Norway and on boat to Halifax in 1928 (see Appendix N9).

Appendix N9



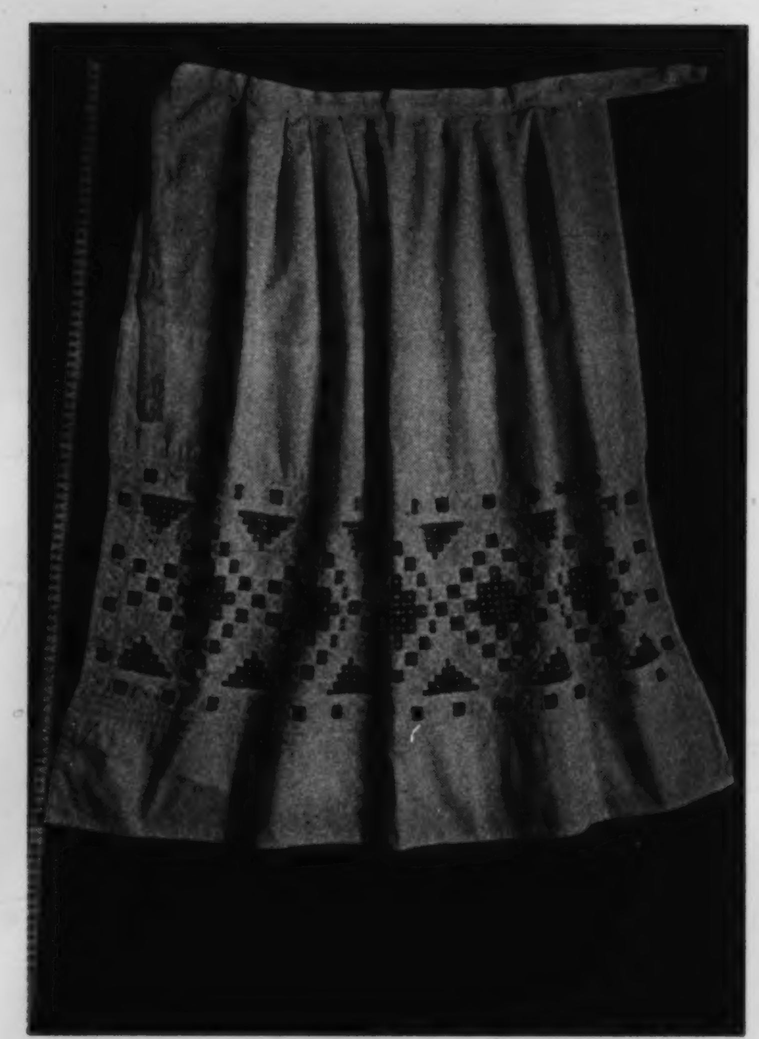
Appendix N9 - ACC #036.03 - photo of Anna Moe and Ella Rosvold in Hardanger *bunader*, (left and center), and Tone Tofteland's granddaughter, Bonnie, in Tone's Setesdal *bunad* (right); Hardanger costumes have red bodices, black skirts and white aprons; Setesdal costume has black bodice and skirt with red and green trim; Photograph taken at Valhalla Anniversary celebration in 1987. (see Appendix N8, N10, N11)

Appendix N10



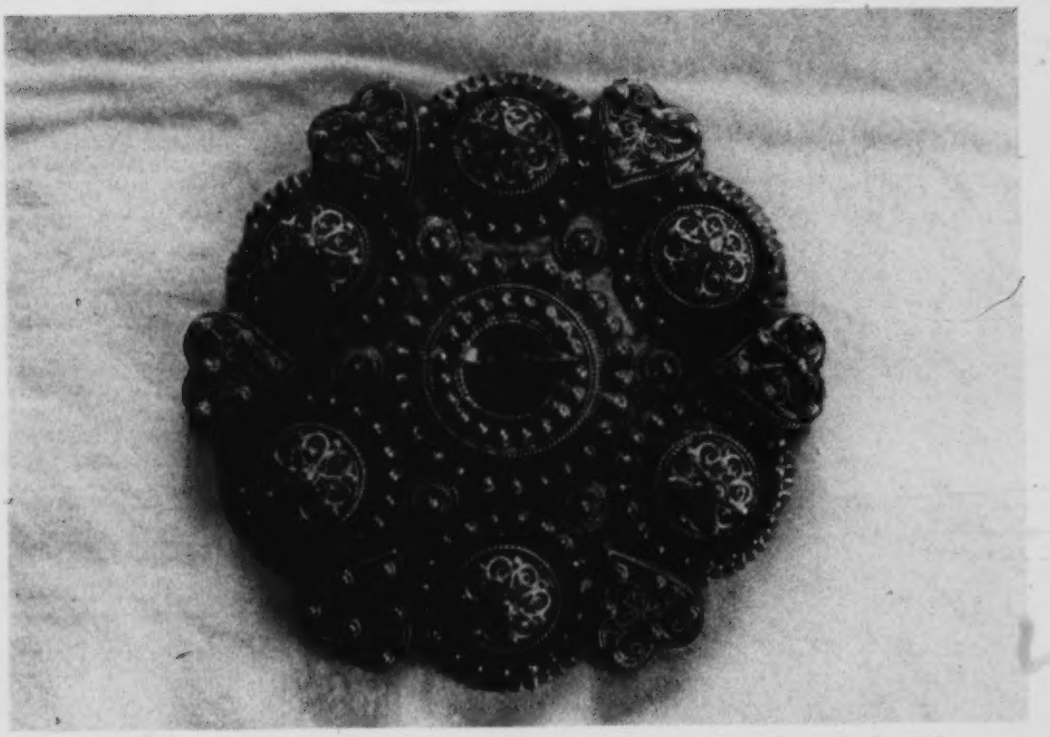
Appendix N10 - ACC #036.01a,h,i (Anna Moe) - white blouse from Hardanger *bunad* with *hardangersaum* embroidery; brooch (*sølje*) has red stones; costume brought to Edmonton in 1911 and to Valhalla Centre in 1927 by Anna's mother, Inger Pearson Kjerland. (see Appendix N9, N11)

Appendix N11



Appendix N11 - ACC #036.01c (Anna Moe) - apron from Hardanger *bunad*; white *hardangersaum* embroidery on white fabric; costume brought to Edmonton in 1911 and to Valhalla Centre in 1927 by Anna's mother, Inger Pearson Kjerland. (see Appendix N9, N10)

Appendix N12

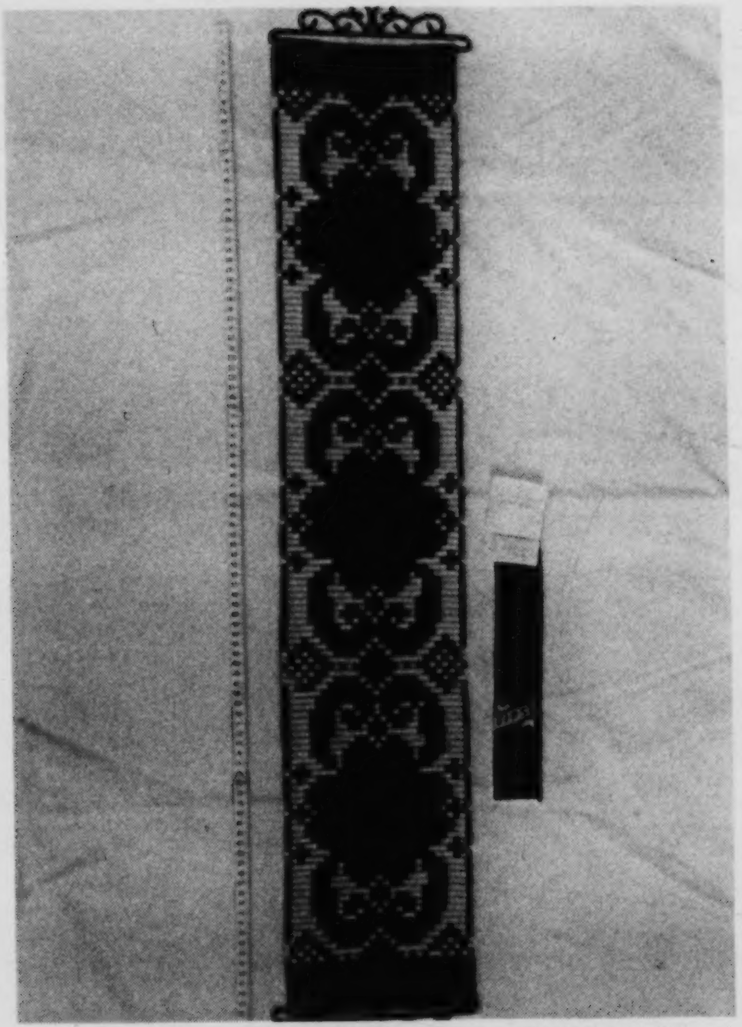


Appendix N12 - ACC #006.01 (Gina Baker) - filigree silver brooch (*sølje*); brought to Valhalla Centre by Gina's mother, Bergit Homme, from Valle, Setesdal (1927).

Appendix N13

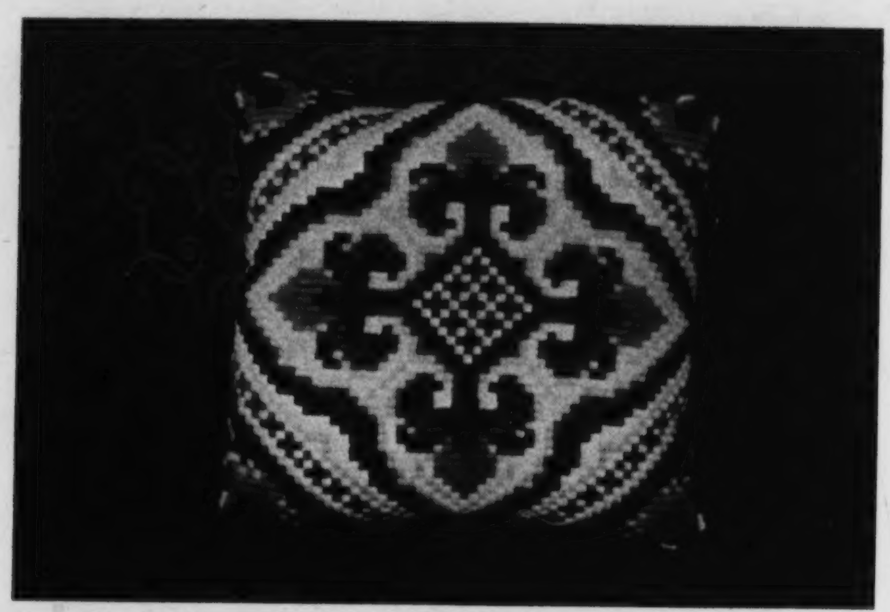
Appendix N13 - ACC #005.06 (Olive Stickney) - silver brooch (*sølje*) with gold plated 'spoons' and 'leaves'; purchased by Olive in Norway in 1972.

Appendix N14

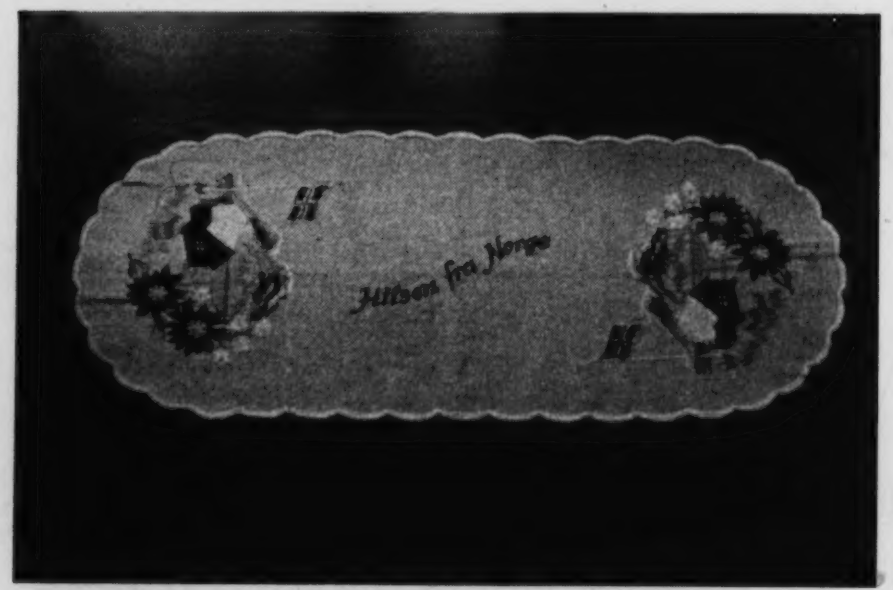


Appendix N14 - ACC #024.01 (Clara and Jack Wells) - bell pull (*klokkestreng*) in vertical stitch embroidery; off-white with red and orange flowers, green, rust and brown leaves and geometric shapes; cast-iron ends; kit purchased by Clara in Norway in 1984; won first prize at the Hythe Agricultural Fair in 1985.

Appendix N15 and N16

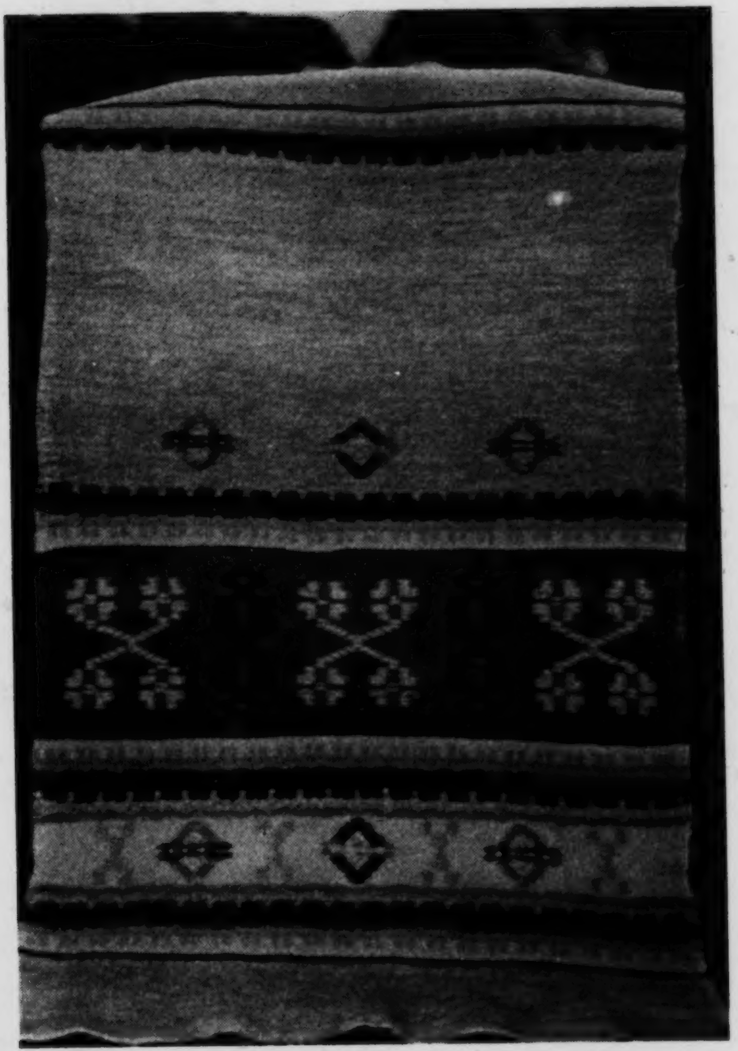


Appendix N15 - ACC #012.06 (Christine Brandsater) - cushion embroidered in vertical stitch; bright red-orange flowers, green leaves, brown and beige geometric patterns on white; made by Gunhild Solheim of Hythe in 1984-1985.



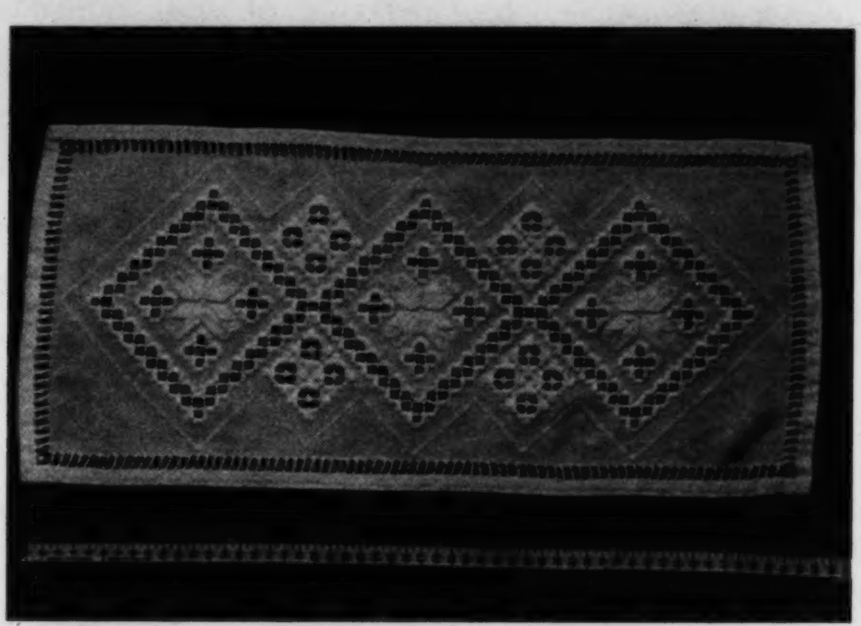
Appendix N16 - ACC #013.03 (Anna and Olaf Severson) - cotton table runner with red, blue and green machine embroidery; received as a Christmas gift from sister-in-law in Norway; acquisition date unknown.

Appendix N17

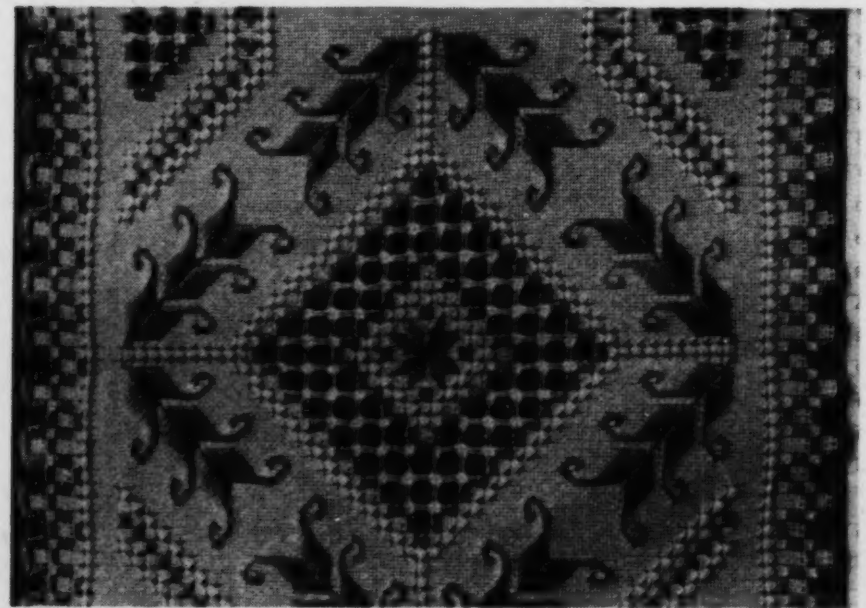


Appendix N17 - ACC #015.08 (Mrs. Joran Kjemhus) - wool table runner; black, green and rust pattern on grey; hand-woven by sister in Norway c. 1968.

Appendix N18 and N19



Appendix N18 - ACC #018.10 (Mrs. Elsie Saastad) - table runner in *hardangersaum* embroidery; white on white with eight-petal rose design; given to Mrs. Saastad while in Norway in 1981.

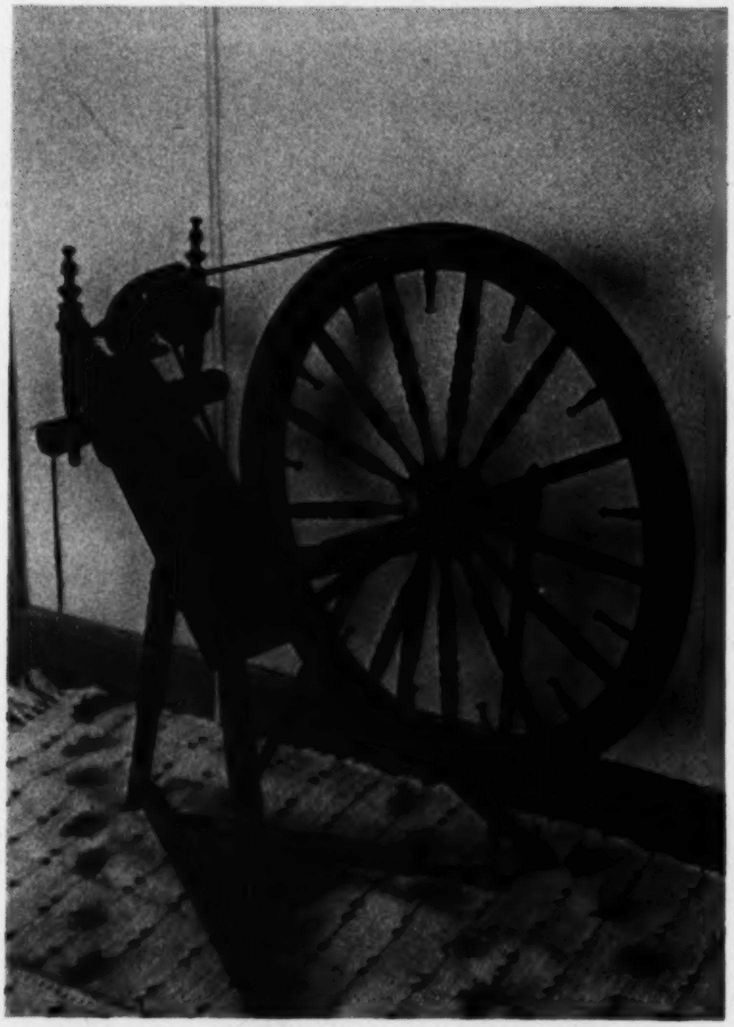


Appendix N19 - ACC #020.03 (Mrs. Ruth Carlstad) - embroidered table runner; dark ecru *hardangersaum* on ecru fabric; commissioned by Mrs. Carlstad of friend in Norway in 1985.

Appendix N20

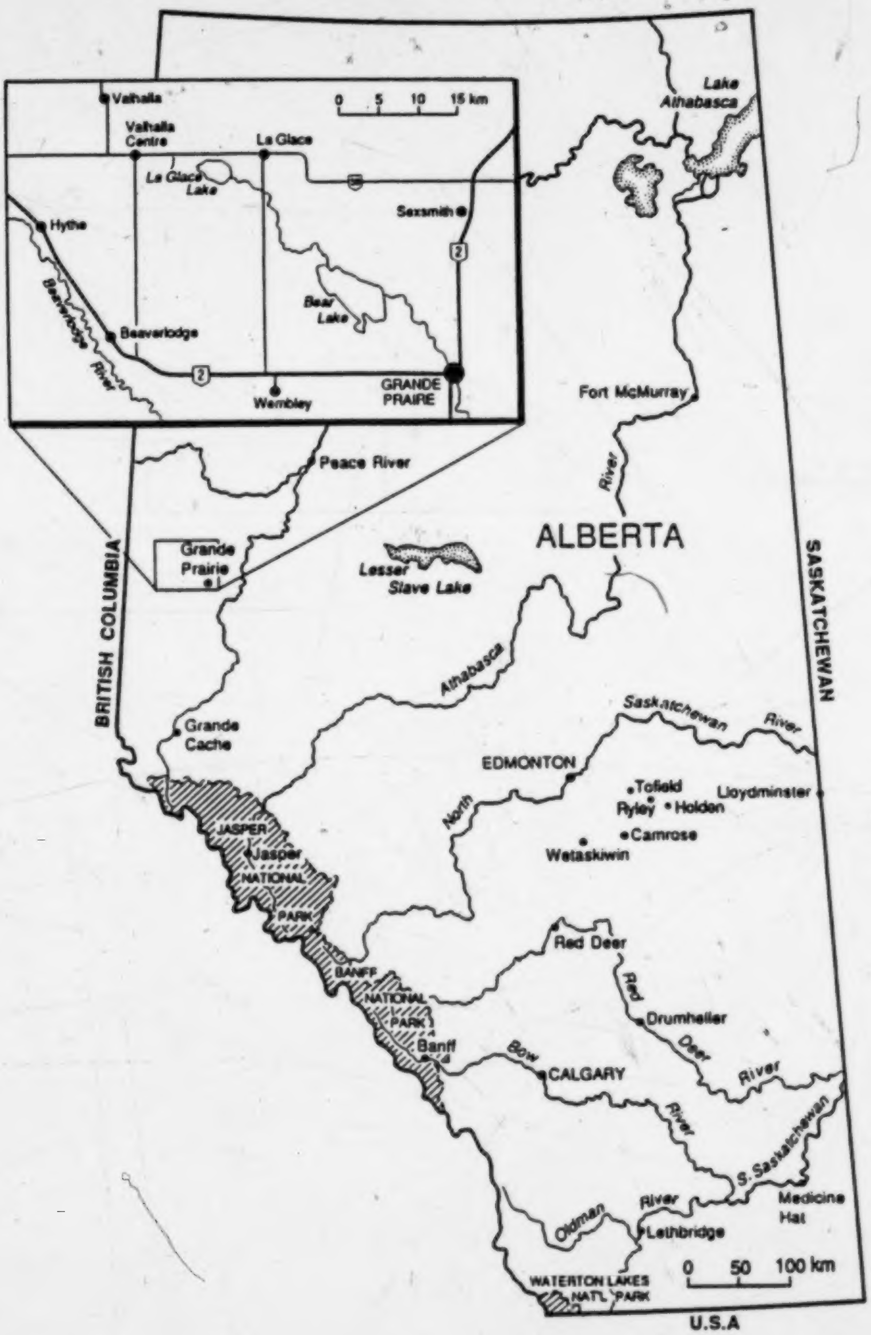
Appendix N20 - ACC #014.03 (Gunhild Solheim) - embroidered wall-hanging; reds, blues and greens on off-white; Cross-stitch embroidery on 'aida' cloth; made by Gunhild in summer of 1987 with materials from Norway.

Appendix N21



Appendix N21 - ACC #038.01 (Mrytle Heggelund) - wooden spinning wheel with slanted base; inscriptions - "M.R. - 1897"; made in Norway in 1897; brought to Gary, Minnesota by Myrtle's mother, Martine Peterson, in 1886, and to Valhalla Centre by Myrtle in 1920.

Appendix O - Map of Valhalla Centre and Area


Valhalla
0 5 10 15 km
Valhalla Centre
La Glace
La Glace Lake
59
Saxsmith
Hythe
2
Beaverlodge River
Bear Lake
Beaverlodge
2
Wembley
GRANDE PRAIRIE
Lake Athabasca
Fort McMurray
Peace River
River
ALBERTA
Grande Prairie
Lesser Slave Lake
BRITISH COLUMBIA
SASKATCHEWAN
Athabasca
Saskatchewan River
Grande Cache
EDMONTON
North
Tofield
Ryley
Holden
Lloydminster
Camrose
Wetaskiwin
JASPER
Jasper
NATIONAL
PARK
Red Deer
BANFF
NATIONAL
PARK
Red
Drumheller
Deer
River
Banff
Bow
CALGARY
River
S. Saskatchewan
River
Medicine Hat
Oldman
Lethbridge
0 50 100 km
WATERTON LAKES NAT'L PARK
U.S.A

Appendix O - Valhalla Centre and area in relationship to the rest of Alberta. Latitude 55^{0}, longitude 119.4^{0}; approximately 60 kilometres northwest of Grande Prairie.

8. Curriculum Vita

NAME: Heather Prince

BIRTHPLACE: Prince Rupert, British Columbia, Canada

BIRTHDATE: July 14, 1959

POST-SECONDARY EDUCATION:

May, 1981	Graduation Diploma Canadian Lutheran Bible Institute Camrose, Alberta, Canada
June, 1983	Bachelor of Science Degree Home Economics Univeristy of Alberta Edmonton, Alberta, Canada

HONOURS AND AWARDS:

1977	Roy Wick Scholarship Prince Rupert Senior Secondary School
1979	Helen Moseson Samuel Prize University of Alberta
1980	Lutheran Life Insurance Scholarship Canadian Lutheran Bible Institute
1984	Individual Training Grant - Special Project, Historic Costume Alberta Museums Association
1986	Graduate Studies Travel Research Grant University of Alberta
1986	Individual Training Grant - Special Project, Norwegian Textiles Alberta Museums Association
1987	Grant-in-Aid for Northern Research Funding Boreal Institute for Northern Studies University of Alberta

1987	Alberta Graduate Scholarship University of Alberta
1988	Canadian-Scandinavian Foundation Scholarship Canadian-Scandinavian Foundation
1988	Individual Training Grant - Special Project Norwegian Textiles in Norway Alberta Museums Association

RELATED WORK EXPERIENCE:

1988 (Feb.)	Fabrication of artifact covers Exhibit Services Provincial Museum of Alberta
1986 (Sept.-Dec.)	Research Assistantship Historic Costume and Textile Study Collection University of Alberta
1986 (Sept.-Oct.)	Continuing Education Teacher Edmonton Public Schools Classes in Norwegian Baking and Hardanger Embroidery
1986 (Aug.)	Museum Training Contract Work Alberta Museums Association (Workshops in Stettler, Crowsnest Pass and Fairview, Alberta)
1986 (May-Aug.)	Exhibit Research, Curatorship and Coordination, "Wool" Edmonton Northlands-Winter Cities-Historic Costume and Textile Study Collection
1985 (Sept.-Dec.)	Assistant Curatorship Historic Costume and Textile Study Collection University of Alberta
1985 (May-Aug.)	Exhibit Research and Coordination, "Art Nouveau in Fashion" Historic Costume and Textile Study Collection University of Alberta
1985 (March)	Textile Analysis Service Printing Services, University of Alberta Contract work on Ukrainian Village Textiles

PUBLICATIONS, SEMINARS:

1988 (May)	Paper - "Norwegian Clothing and Textiles in Valhalla Centre, Alberta" Graduate Student Association Symposium

	University of Alberta
1987 (May)	Paper - "Norwegian Clothing in Alberta" Prairie Costume Society Symposium Edmonton, Alberta
1982 (Oct.)	Publication - (1982). "Indigo Dyeing". *Embroidery Canada*, 10(1), p. 4